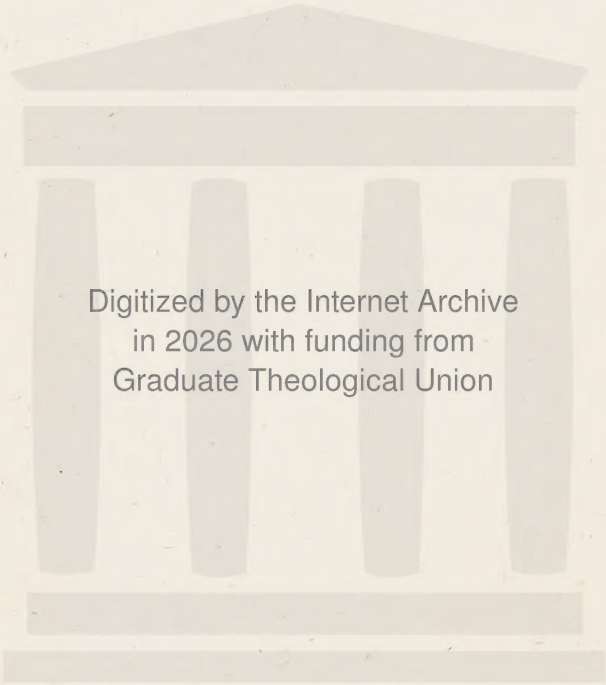
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HORÆ BIBLICÆ;

BEING A CONNECTED

SERIES OF NOTES

ON THE

TEXT AND LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BIBLES,

OR

SACRED BOOKS OF THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS;

AND ON

THE BIBLES OR BOOKS ACCOUNTED SACRED BY THE MAHOMETANS, HINDUS, PARSEES, CHINESE, AND SCANDINAVIANS.

[by Charles Butler]

PART THE FIRST;

CONTAINING AN HISTORICAL AND LITERARY ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT, EARLY VERSIONS, AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

PART THE SECOND;

CONTAINING A CONNECTED SERIES OF NOTES ON THE KORAN, ZEND-AVESTA, VEDAS, KINGS AND EDDA.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem, animi et corporis conceditur temporis: quantum alii tempestivis conviviis, quantum aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia recolenda, sumpsero.

CIC. PRO ARCHIA.

Le changement d'etude est toujours un delassement pour moi.

D'AGUESSEAU.

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☆

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HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

PART I.

CONTAINING, AN HISTORICAL AND LITERARY ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT, EARLY VERSIONS, AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

WITH a view to impress on the memory the result of some miscellaneous reading on different subjects of BIBLICAL LITERATURE, the following Notes were committed to paper. It may be found, that they give,—

I. Some history of the rise and decline of the Hebrew language, including an account of the Mishna, the Two Gemaras, and the Targums: II. Some account of the Hellenistic language, principally with a view to the Septuagint version of the Bible: under this head, mention will be made of the early versions of the Old Testament, and the biblical labours of Origen: III. Some observations on the effect produced on the style of the New Testament, 1st, by the Hellenistic idiom of the writers; 2dly, by the Rabbinical doctrines current in Judæa at the time of Christ's appearance on earth, and by the controversies among the sects, into which the learned were then divided: 3dly, by the literary pursuits of the Jews being confined to their religious tenets and observances; 4thly, by the political subserviency of the Jews to the

Romans; 5thly, by their connexions and intercourse with the neighbouring nations; and 6thly, by the difference of the dialects, which prevailed among the Jews themselves: IV. Some account, 1st, of the biblical literature of the middle ages; 2dly, of the industry of the Monks; and 3dly, of the industry of the Jews, in copying Hebrew manuscripts: V. Some notion of the Masorah, and the Keri and Ketibh: VI. Some notion of the controversy respecting the nature, antiquity and utility of the vowel points: VII. Some general remarks,—1st, on the history of the Jews after their return from the Babylonish captivity to the birth of Christ; 2dly, on the persecutions suffered by the Jews; 3dly, on their present state; 4thly, on their religious tenets; 5thly, on the appellations of their doctors and teachers; 6thly, on the distinction between the Tanaits or Rabanists and Caraits, and on the actual state of the Pharisees and Sadducees: 7thly, on the Cabala; 8thly, on their writers against the Christian religion; and 9thly, on their principles respecting religious toleration: VIII. Some observations on the nature of the Hebrew manuscripts, and the principal printed editions of the Hebrew Bible: IX. Some account of the principal Greek manuscripts of the New Testament: X. Of the Polyglott editions of the New Testament: XI. Of the principal Greek editions of the New Testament: XII. Of the versions of the New Testament into the Romeika, or

Modern Greek: XIII. Of the Oriental Versions of the New Testament; and the Ancient Versions of it into the Northern Languages: XIV. Of the Latin Vulgate: XV. Of the English translations of the Bible: XVI. And of the division of the Bible into chapters and verses: XVII. Some general observations will be offered on the nature of the various readings of the sacred text, so far as they may be supposed to influence the questions respecting its purity, authenticity, or divine inspiration: XVIII. Mention will then be made of the principal works made use of by the writer, in the course of his enquiries.

I.

The claim of The Hebrew Language to high antiquity cannot be denied: its pretensions to be the original language of mankind, and to have been the only language in existence before the confusion at Babel, have, by many respectable writers, been thought not inconsiderable. It may be asserted confidently, that it was, at least, a dialect of that language, and that, in the strictest sense of the word, it is the oldest language, in which, any work now extant was written. In a general sense it denotes the language used by the descendants of Abraham, in all the variations of their fortune, before and after they became possessed of the promised land; during their captivity in Babylon; from their return to their final dispersion; and from

their final dispersion, so far as they have retained a peculiar language of their own, to the present time. But it may be more accurately considered, under the three distinct idioms of South Chanaanitic, Aramæan and Talmudical.

I. 1. It evidently received the appellation of *South Chanaanitic*, from its being the idiom of the inhabitants of the land of Chanaan: and, as no material alteration took place in it, during the long period which elapsed, from Abraham's arrival in Chanaan, till the captivity, it is known, through the whole of this period, by that appellation. Nice observers have professed to find, that it arrived at its perfection in the reign of Solomon, and to remark in it some degree of falling off from that time, and have therefore pronounced his reign to be the golden, and the prophesyings of Isaiah to be the silver age of the Hebrew Language: but, unless this observation be understood with some qualification, it appears to have more of fancy than of truth. During the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, their language was far from being wholly forgotten by them. On their return it was greatly their wish to restore it: but their commixture with the natives of the country, where they had been captives, the residence of many of them in the neighbouring nations, their intercourse and habits with the subjects of other kingdoms, and their frequent political connections with the Seleucidan monarchs, introduced into it a multitude of foreign

words and foreign idioms. In the progress of time they debased it altogether, and, in a manner, converted it into another language.

I. 2. In this state, it is known by the appellation of *Aramæan*, from *Aram*, one of the sons of *Sem*. His descendants inhabited the Mediterranean region, between the Tigris and Euphrates, and extended north to Armenia, and south to Shinaar, Babylon and Chaldæa. To the East were the descendants of Ashur, another of the sons of Sem, called the Assyrians; their chief city stood upon the Tigris, and was called Ninive; beyond them were the people of Media. There is reason to suppose that the descendants of Aram never extended themselves beyond the Tigris. But they passed the Euphrates, west, and occupied the territory known to us by the name of Syria. Aram Zobah and some other places were denominated from them. In consequence of the circumstance above adverted to, the Aramæan language became, after the captivity, the general language of Palestine. It branched into two dialects, differing in pronunciation rather than in words, the Chaldee, or East Aramæan, and the Syriac, or West Aramæan. The East Aramæan was spoken at Jerusalem and Judæa; the West, in the Galilæa Gentium. The learned, however, still cultivated the study of the old Hebrew or South Chanaanitic, and it was used in the service of the synagogue. Thus it continued the language of literature and religion, but the

language of common discourse was the Aramæan. That, therefore, was the language of the Jews, at the time of the birth of Christ; it was spoken by him, in his familiar instructions and conversations; and, with some variation, it continued the language of Judæa, till the final dispersion of the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

I. 3. Notwithstanding the destruction of that city, a large portion of the Jews remained, or established themselves, in Judæa. By degrees they formed themselves into a regular system of government, or rather subordination, connected with the various bodies of Jews, dispersed throughout the world. They were divided into the Western and Eastern Jews. The Western inhabited Egypt, Judæa, Italy and other parts of the Roman empire; the Eastern were settled in Babylon, Chaldæa, and Persia. The head of the Western Jews was known by the name of Patriarch; the head of the Eastern Jews was called, Prince of the Captivity. The office of Patriarch was abolished by the imperial laws, about the year 429: from which time, the Western Jews were solely under the rule of the chiefs of their synagogues, whom they called Primates. The princes of the captivity had a longer and more splendid sway. They resided at Babylon or Bagdad, and exercised their authority over all the Jews who were established there, or in the adjacent country, or in Assyria, Chaldæa or Parthia. They subsisted as late as the twelfth century.

In the midst of their depression and calamities, the Jews were attentive to their religion and language. With the permission of the Romans, they established academies; the most famous of them were those of Jabné and Tiberias.

About the reign of Antoninus Pius, Rabbi Jehuda Hakkadosh published a collection of Jewish traditions, called the *Mishna*, the style of which seems to shew, that their attempts to restore their language had not been unsuccessful. Surenhusius published the original, with a Latin version, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Bartenora, in six volumes folio, at Amsterdam, 1698—1703. It has been translated into German by Rabe; his translation was published at Onolzbach, in 1760—1763, in six volumes quarto.

As a supplement to this, the first *Gemara* was written, for the use of the Jews of Judæa, whence it is called the Gemara of Jerusalem. The style of it is so abrupt and barbarous, that the most profound Hebraists almost confess their inability to understand it. After the death of Antoninus Pius, a fresh persecution broke out against those Jews, and they were expelled from their academies within the Roman empire. The chief part of them fled to Babylon and the neighbouring countries; and there, about the fifth century, published what is called the Second or Babylonish Gemara, in which there is less of barbarism and obscurity, than in the former. A translation of it was begun in

Germany by Rabe. The Mishna and Gemara form what is called the *Talmud*, and the idiom of this collection is called the *Talmudical*. From there being two Gemaras, there are two Talmuds, the Jerusalem and Babylonish: the former consists of the Mishna and Jerusalem Gemara; the latter, of the Mishna and Babylonish Gemara. The former is preferred by the Christians, as containing fewer fables and trifles; the latter is preferred by the Jews, as descending most into particulars. When they mention the Talmud generally, they understand by it, the Babylonish Talmud.

The Talmudical language was used by many of their writers. About the year 1038 the Jews were expelled from Babylon. Some of the most learned of them passed into Africa, and thence into Spain. Great bodies of them settled in that kingdom. They assisted the Saracens in their conquest of it. Upon that event, an intimate connection took place between the disciples of Moses and the disciples of Mahomet. It was cemented by their common hatred of the Christians, and subsisted till their common expulsion. This is one of the most brilliant epochas of Jewish literature, from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. Even in the darkest ages of their history, they cultivated their language with assiduity, and were never without skilful grammarians, or subtle interpreters of Holy Writ. But, speaking generally, it was only during their union with the Saracens in Spain, and in the flourishing

ages of the Caliphs of Bagdad, that they ventured into general literature, or used, in their writings, a foreign, and consequently in their conceptions, a profane language.

In the literature of the Jews, the *Targums* fill a considerable space. These are paraphrases, which, at different times, and by different hands, have been made, in the Chaldee language, of all the Hebrew parts of the Old Testament. They have various degrees of merit. What is called the Targum of Onkelos is confined to the Pentateuch, and is far better executed than any of the others. There are strong grounds for supposing, that all the Targums are subsequent to the Version of the Seventy.

II.

THE only instance, in which, before the birth of Christ, the Jews appear to have used a profane language, was in THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE MADE BY THE SEVENTY.

II. 1. With respect to the *Style:* It has been observed, that the policy of the Romans to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin language, was attended with greater success in their western, than in their eastern conquests; so that, while the language of Rome was readily adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Pannonia, the Greeks preserved their language; and it continued to be spoken in their various colonies, from the Hadriatic

to the Euphrates and the Nile, and in the numerous cities in Asia and Egypt, founded by the Macedonian kings. All of them abounded with Jews. They were known by the name of Grecian or Hellenistic Jews, from the application which the Jews made of the term Hellenistic, to describe them as residing in Grecian cities, and speaking the Greek language. Alexandria, upon many accounts, was, in regard to them, the capital of the countries they inhabited. By living among the Greeks, they naturally acquired their language; but they incorporated into it numberless words and phrases of their own. This must always be the case where foreigners acquire a language. It was so in a particular manner with the Jews, as they acquired the Greek language by practice rather than grammar and as they did not live promiscuously among the natives, but separately, in large communities, among themselves. Besides, they had a more than common reverence for the sacred book. It comprised all their religion, all their morality, all their history, all their politics, and whatever was most excellent of their poetry. It may, therefore, be said to have contained all their language and its phrases. Unavoidably they would be led to adopt its idiom, even in their ordinary discourse, and to introduce it into their writings. The consequence was, that, always bearing in their minds the idiom of their mother tongue, they moulded the Greek words into

Hebraic phrases, and sometimes even used words, which resembled certain Hebrew terms in their sound, in an Hebraic sense. The effect of this was the more striking, as no languages are more dissimilar than the Hebrew and the Greek; the copiousness and variety of the latter forming a strong contrast to the simplicity and penury of the former. Hence, when the Jews came to translate the Sacred Writings into Greek, their version carried, in every part of it, the strongest tincture of their native idiom: so that, though the words were Greek, the phraseology was, every where, Hebrew. This was greatly increased by the scrupulous, not to say superstitious, attachment of the Jews to the Holy Writings, by which they were led to translate them in the most servile manner. To this must be added, that the whole tenor of the Holy Writings relates to facts and circumstances peculiar, in many respects, to the chosen people. Besides,—the duties which they inculcate, and the sentiments they contain or raise, were unknown to the writers of Greece. In expressing them, therefore, the translators were often at a loss; and then, for want of a corresponding or equivalent word to convey their author's meaning fully, they were constrained to do the best they could, by approximation. The letter written by the German Jews, residing in England, to their foreign brethren, recommending Doctor Kennicott to their protection and assistance in

his Biblical pursuits, inserted by him in his *Dissertatio Generalis*, (a valuable edition of which, with many additions, was published by Bruns, in octavo, at Brunswick, in 1783), is a curious specimen of the language of a Jew, when he attempts to express modern, and, in respect to him, foreign ideas, in the Hebrew language. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Greek Testament is, the total absence of the dual number. Mr. Marsh's observations on this singular circumstance, (see his note 67, to ch. 4. 55. of Michaelis), deserve great consideration.

II. 2. With respect to the *History of the Septuagint*,—There scarcely is a subject of literature upon which more has been written, or of which less, with any degree of certainty, is known. The popular account of its being made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the suggestion of Aristeas, and under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus, by seventy or seventy-two Jews, shut up in cells, appears to be generally exploded. The prevailing opinion is, that it was made at Alexandria, at different times, and by different interpreters; but that all of them were Jews. The Pentateuch, the book of Job, and the Proverbs, are the parts of the version most admired. The principal editions are,—Aldus's, published in 1518, from several manuscripts, with frequent glosses, and some mixtures from the other versions;—the Roman, published in 1587, from the Vatican

Manuscript, but not exactly, some readings of consequence having been transferred to it, and some chasms in it having been filled up, from other manuscripts;—Mr. Grabe's, printed at Oxford in 1707, from the famous Alexandrine Manuscript;—and Professor Breitinger's, published at Zurich, in Switzerland, in 1730—1732, in four volumes quarto. The last edition is particularly valuable, because it not only contains the text of Grabe's edition, or the Alexandrine Manuscript, but because, in the margin at the bottom of the page, it has the principal variations of the Roman edition of 1587, or the Vatican Manuscript. To these editions should be added, the Complutensian, published in 1515. Dr. Owen says, that it adheres to no particular copy; but that, taking out of all, the readings which came nearest to the Hebrew text, it may be looked upon rather as a new translation, than the antient Greek version of the Seventy. Before him Monsieur Huet had observed, (*Dissertations Recueillis par Monsieur l'Abbé de Tilladet, Paris* 1712, vol. i. p. 473—475,) that, "when the version of "the Seventy was printed in the Bible of Com- "plutum, the Editors did not follow the Ancient "Manuscripts of that version, but altered the "copy before them, from citations in the "writings of the fathers, so that the text pub- "lished by them was irregular, confused, and "made up of citations; and therefore, when at a

" subsequent time it came to be compared with " the Ancient Manuscripts, which ought to have " been done by the Editors, it lost its authority." The version of the Septuagint is generally cited by the fathers. Respectable writers, as Salmasius, Bochart, Capellus and Abarbanel, have asserted, that it was the text made use of by Josephus, in the composition of his Hebrew Antiquities: the contrary opinion is maintained by Dr. Hody, but he concedes that Josephus followed it on some occasions: and it seems generally admitted that it was always followed by Philo. That the Evangelists sometimes cite the version of the Seventy, even in places where it differs from the present Hebrew Text, is clear: but, as the writer of the critique on this Work in the British Review for December 1799 justly observes, " we must not " therefore conclude, that Christ himself quoted " from the Septuagint. He conversed with the " Jews of Palestine in the language of their " country, that is the Aramæan; his quotations " therefore were in that language; and, if he did " not use the words of an established Targum, " which however is not improbable, he must be " supposed to have given his own Aramæan trans- " lation, not of a Greek version, but of the " Hebrew original. On the other hand, in Greek " Gospels, written for the use of Greek Chris- " tians, quotations from the Old Testament, even " such as had been made by Christ himself, were

" frequently delivered in the words of the esta-
" blished Greek version, in the same manner as
" an English translator, in rendering a German
" theological work, would use the words of the
" established English version of the Bible, where
" the author had quoted that of Luther." Monsieur Huet, (*de claris interpretibus*), observes, that the Asiatic Jews, whose metropolis was Babylon, used the Paraphrase of Onkelos; the western Jews, whose capital was Alexandria, used the version of the Septuagint; the Jews of Palestine used the Targum of Jerusalem.

It may not be improper, in this place, to observe, that it is by no means clear, what language was generally spoken in Palestine, in the time of our Saviour. Some, as de Rossi in Italy, and Pfankuche in Germany, maintain it was the Syriac or Aramæan; others, as Diodati of Naples, contend it was the Greek: a middle, and certainly a very probable opinion, is that of Professor Paulus, who, in his two Programmata, lately published at Jena, with the title, " *Verosimilia* " *de Judeis Palestinensibus, Jesu etiam atque* " *Apostolis, non Aramæa dialecto sed Græcâ* " *quoque Aramæizante, locutis,*" seems to prove, that, though the Aramæan was, at the time, the mother language of Palestine, the Greek, or Hebræo-Greek, was likewise so current in Galilee, and still more at Jerusalem, that our Saviour and his apostles, might, when they judged it best

adapted to their purposes, employ it in their conversations or writings, equally with or in preference to the Syriac.

A splendid edition of the Septuagint is now preparing at Oxford, under the care of Dr. Holmes. It is an imitation of Dr. Kennicott's Bible, containing a collation, from manuscripts found in the different libraries, both in this country and on the continent. Those collations have, of course, in general been made, and the descriptions given, by persons resident in the several places, and Dr. Holmes has certainly employed, for this purpose, men of distinguished literary character. The first volume, comprizing the whole Pentateuch, is published, and presents a great number of various readings; the comparative claims of which to genuineness, we hope some future Griesbach will estimate: but it will be a most arduous task, on account of the probable intermixture of the other versions with that of the Septuagint. Dr. Holmes has also published *Daniel* in the Versions of Theodotion and the Seventy, with various readings of manuscripts, printed editions, fathers, and ancient versions.—Something of the same comprehensive kind as Dr. Holmes's collation, should be attempted for the ancient Latin versions; but this, on account of their variety, will be a still more arduous enterprize.

The Septuagint has always been of the highest authority in the church of Rome: but in the

middle ages, it was little known, and hardly ever used. It is the authentic version of the Greek church; the early Latin versions were generally translations from it. In many instances it differs materially from the Hebrew. In the Pentateuch, the version of the Seventy approaches nearer to the Samaritan, than to the Hebrew text. The difference between it and the Hebrew has not yet been accounted for on satisfactory grounds. At first, it was unfavourably received by the Jews. But the number of Hellenistic Jews increasing, and a Greek translation of the Sacred Writings being necessary for them, it came into use among them, and was sometimes used in the Synagogues in Judæa. The ancient fathers generally referring to it in their controversies with the Jews, it grew out of favour with them: and some of the Talmudists have spoken of it, in the strongest terms of reprobation. They declare, that the day in which it was made, was as fatal to Israel, as that of the golden calf: that, in consequence of it, the earth was, for three days, covered with darkness; and an annual fast, on the 8th of December, was established.

II. 3. Connected with the history of the Septuagint are, *the History of the other Versions made of the Old Testament, from the Hebrew into Greek, in the early ages of Christianity,* and *the Biblical labours of Origen.* The first of these versions was made by *Aquila,* who from a Christian became a Jew, and was accused of designedly mis-

translating those passages of the Old Testament, which establish the divine mission and character of Christ. He published two distinct translations; the first was free; the last and most in use, was servile. he was followed by *Symmachus*, whose translation is supposed to have been clear and elegant; and by *Theodotion*, whose translation was thought to be more liberal than the second of Aquila, but more strict than the version of Symmachus. A fifth, a sixth, and a seventh version of some parts of the Old Testament were made; the authors of them are unknown.

II. 4. *The Biblical labours of Origen* are known under the appellation of his Tetraples, Hexaples, Octaples and Enneaples. The Tetraples contained, in four columns, the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, and Theodotion. Having discovered two other versions, he added them to the Tetraples. They constituted together the Hexaples. By prefixing to them the Hebrew text, and transcribing it, in a separate column, in Greek letters, he increased them to Octaples. He afterwards added to them a separate version of the Psalms. With that, they are called his Enneaples. So that, the first column contained the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; the second, the Hebrew in Greek letters; the third, the version of Aquila; the fourth, the version of Symmachus: the fifth, the Greek text of the Septuagint; the sixth, the version of Theodotion; the seventh, his

fifth Greek edition; the eighth, his sixth Greek edition; the ninth, his last version of the Psalms.

In all his labours, he appears to have directed his attention principally to the Septuagint, with a view to make it conform to the Hebrew text. For this purpose, leaving the text itself of the Septuagint untouched, he shewed, by certain marks, the differences between it and the Hebrew text. His admirers and followers are accused of want of a similar respect for the text of the Septuagint; they are charged with altering the text itself, to make it conform to the Hebrew. If the charge be founded, there may be a wide difference between the present and the original text of the Septuagint; and the discovery of a manuscript anterior to the time of Origen, or bearing evident marks of expressing the original text of such a manuscript, would be an invaluable acquisition.

III.

III. 1. This leads to THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Most probably all of them were originally written in Greek, except the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews. The *Style* of the writers has a considerable affinity with that of the Septuagint version; but it is much more free from Hebraisms, and approaches somewhat nearer to the Greek idiom: in each, however, the Hebrew phraseology is discernible. To mention some particulars,—in each,

the same use is made of the double substantive, to supply the Jewish want of adjectives, as "king-" dom and glory" to express a "glorious kingdom;" " mouth and wisdom" to express a " wise dis-" course." In each, the words, " of God," are used to denote the superlative degree, in comparison; as " the mountains of God" and " the " cedars of God" " for " very high mountains" and "very high cedars." In each, we observe the difficulty, and, on many occasions, the impracticability of accommodating the conjugations of the Hebrew language to the Greek modes and voices, and the Hebrew connectives to the Greek particles and prepositions. But, besides a peculiarity of style, from the perpetual recurrence of Jewish phraseology, the New Testament has, in common with the Old, the leading features of the Oriental style of instruction,—short aphoristic sentences, and frequent use of allegory and parable. In each, extreme simplicity of phrase is joined, throughout, to extreme boldness and pomp of imagery; and both are rendered the more striking by their proximity. This is frequently seen in the most familiar discourses recorded of Christ by the Evangelists. Even in the Sermon on the Mount, the subject and the simile are often united in a manner which the nations of the West have never employed out of poetry. In these, and in many other instances, a considerable degree of similitude is discoverable between the Greek of the Septuagint,

and the Greek of the New Testament: in some respects, however, the Greek of the New Testament has strong peculiarities.

III. 2. One of the most striking of these was a consequence of the *Rabbinical doctrines* and disputes, which, at the time of Christ's mission, prevailed in Judæa. Notwithstanding the unsocial temper and habits of the Jews, and their decided aversion from intercommunity with strangers, it was impossible that such numbers of them should inhabit the cities of Greece, without imbibing something of the literary and inquisitive spirit of that people. The consequence was, that they gave into a variety of disputes. The principal sects, into which they were divided, were those of the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees*. The former had subsisted one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ: they gave too much to tradition, and deluged the plain simplicity of the Mosaic law in a multitude of scriptural glosses and comments. They affected great austerity of morals, and practised numberless superstitions. They held the chief offices in church and state, and had the greatest influence over the common people. The Sadducees were a more ancient sect: they were distinguished by their adherence to the word of the Sacred Writings, interpreting it always in its most literal sense, and rejecting, with contempt, all traditionary reasonings and observances. But at the same that they professed a strict, not to say

a bigoted adherence to the Law of Moses, they held, by a strange contradiction, the loosest opinions. They denied a future state, and, as far as is consistent with any belief in the Holy Writings, were Epicureans both in practice and theory. In opposition to the Pharisees, who inclined to fatalism, they maintained the freedom of the human will. They avoided interfering in public concerns, and were few in number, but of the highest quality. The *Scribes* had originally their name from transcribing, or making copies of the Law. By degrees, they became the expounders of it. They may be considered as the public teachers of the Jewish theology. Like all others, who held offices, or interfered in public concerns, they were under the guidance, and obliged to profess the principles and imitate the manners, of the Pharisees. The *Herodians* were not so much a religious as a political sect, attached to Herod, during his life, and to his sons, after his decease. Herod, whether an Idumæan by birth, or descended, as many suppose, from one of the Jewish families, who returned from the Babylonish captivity, unquestionably belonged to a family which had long professed the Jewish religion, and was ranked among the tribe of Judah. But he seems to have had neither external reverence, nor internal respect for the religious institutions of his country. He built temples in the Grecian taste; erected statues for idolatrous worship; adopted, in his

ordinary habits of life, Roman manners and Roman usages; and, in his public capacity, was absolutely devoted and subservient to Roman politics. This brought upon him the hatred of the Pharisees, who were zealously attached to the independence of their country, and bore the Roman yoke with the utmost indignation. But many of the Jews, particularly of the Sadducees, embraced his politics, and, on that account, received from their countrymen the name of Herodians; an appellation, in the general notion of the Jews, of the highest contumely.

The Essenes differed from all the sects we have mentioned, as they estranged themselves not only from politics and public affairs, but, as much as the nature of man and the constitution of society admit, from the common concerns and intercourse of private life. "They held," says the Bishop of Dromore, "1st, that God was surrounded by "Demons or Angels, who were mediators with "God, and therefore to be worshipped: 2. that "the soul is defiled by the body; that all bodily "enjoyments hurt the soul, which they believed "to be immortal, though they seem to have "denied the resurrection of the Body, as it would "only render the soul sinful by being re-united "to it. 3. That there was a great mystery in "numbers, particularly in the number seven: "they therefore attributed a natural holiness to "the seventh or sabbath day, which they observed

" more strictly than the other Jews. They spent " their time mostly in contemplation; abstained " from marriage and every gratification of the " senses." They were divided into classes, were governed by superiors, and were chiefly employed in agriculture.

The principal points in dispute, among the sects we have mentioned, respected the law of Moses, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, future rewards and punishments, and the nature of virtue. All admitted the divine authority of the law of Moses: the Pharisees added to it, a body of traditionary law, which, they said, was equally of divine authority and entitled to equal respect: this traditionary law was wholly rejected by the Sadducees and Essenes. According to the Pharisees, the sacred text had a double sense; one, expressed by the plain natural meaning of the words; the other, enveloped in their mysterious import. The Sadducees rigidly adhered to the natural meaning of the words: the Essenes contended, that the words of the law, in their natural meaning, were void of all power; and that the things, expressed by them, were images of holy and celestial objects; they professed to renounce the outward letter, and to consider the law as an allegorical system of spiritual and mysterious truth. The Sadducees denied the resurrection and a future life; the Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul,

and a future state of rewards and punishments, which extended both to soul and body; the Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments; but maintained that they extended to the soul alone. The Pharisees courted popular applause by an ostentation of public sanctity, and a rigid attention to the ceremonies of the written and traditionary law. The Sadducees treated the sanctity and ceremonies of the Pharisees with contempt, as marks of weakness and superstition, and rested their own claim to respect on good actions and elegant manners. The Essenes placed religion in contemplative indolence, which they thought debased by any social attachment to man. The doctrines of the Pharisees were popular with the multitude, those of the Sadducees with the great. The Essenes were little known out of their own communities. It is observable that while the Gospel abounds with reproofs of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Essenes are not once named in it: but it is supposed that St. Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, and his Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, often refers to them.

III. 3. It deserves attention that Michaelis, (*Intr. Vol. III. Part I.* § 2, 3, 4, 5,) and other German writers have shown, that some passages, both of the Old and New Testament, and particularly the first Chapter of St. John's Gospel, refer to the tenets of the *Gnostics and Sabians.* The

former were a species of Manichæans, who existed in the east, long before the birth of Christ; and several of their errors were fancifully accommodated by some of the earliest Christians to the second person of the Trinity, and the mysteries of the Incarnation and Passion.—The principal error of the latter, was, that they ascribed to St. John the Baptist, a greater authority, than to Christ. Michaelis contends, that, St. John the Evangelist begins his gospel with a series of aphorisms, as counterpositions to the doctrine of these heretics, and afterwards relates several speeches and miracles of Christ, which the truth of these aphorisms pointedly confirms. The whole passage deserves the reader's serious attention.

Such was the state of the religious sects among the Jews at the time of the birth of our Saviour. The Rabbins, or the teachers of each sect, defended their tenets with the greatest zeal and pertinacity.

III. 4. All of them, however, agreed in thinking that their religious tenets and observances were the only objects worthy of their attention. It followed, that their literary controversies, instead of embracing, like those of the philosophical sects of the Pagans, the wide circle of general literature, *were directed and confined to their religion and religious institutions*, and were exhausted in questions and discussions immediately, or remotely referrible to those objects. They were sometimes

striking by their refinement and abstruseness, but were often idle and visionary. These religious contentions necessarily produced a considerable effect on the language of the Jews; and, whether they expressed themselves in Greek or in Hebrew, led them to adopt new terms and expressions. These, which may be called Rabbinisms, frequently occur in the New Testament.

III. 5. Another peculiarity of the language of the New Tastament, is its *occasional Latinism.* This was originally owing to their political subserviency to the Romans. The celebrated prophecy of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 10.) had foretold, "that the sceptre should not depart from Judah, "nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until the "Shiloh should come." Both antient and modern Jews agree, that the Messiah was designed by the Shiloh. When the Assyrian monarch led the ten tribes of Israel into captivity, the sceptre departed from *them*, and the lawgiver from *their* feet. But, when the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were carried captives to Babylon, they were permitted to live as a distinct people, under their own rulers and governors: and we find, that Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to the Prince of Judah; 1 Esdras i. 8. Thus the sceptre and the lawgiver were preserved to Judah, and remained to him, till Judæa was reduced to a Roman province. The first interference of the Romans, as conquerors, in the

affairs of Judæa, was in consequence of their conquest of Syria. From that time, they appointed the High Priests. Still, though they changed the order of succession at their pleasure, they uniformly confined their choice to one of the sacerdotal family. In other respects, they left the Jews in the full possession, both of their civil and ecclesiastical government, till the death of Archelaus, the immediate successor of Herod. The year after his death, they reduced Judæa into a Roman province. Then it was, that the power of life and death was taken from the Jews, and justice was, from that time, administered in the name and by the laws of Rome. Then, therefore, but not till then, the sceptre departed from *Judah*, and the lawgiver from *his* feet. The precise year, when this event happened, it may be difficult to ascertain: but the judicial forms, professed to be observed on the trial and condemnation of our Saviour, and the exclamation of the Jews, "we "have no king but Cæsar," irrefragably shew, that it had then arrived.—It may easily be conceived what effect the overpowering influence and dominion of Rome would have, both on the written and the spoken language of Judæa.

III. 6. The New Testament abounds also with expressions introduced into it, in consequence of the unavoidable *intercourse of the Jews with their Asiatic, Syrian and Arabian neighbours.* It is observable, that here, as in most other instances,

where Asia is spoken of, with a reference to the New Testament, the word denotes a very small part of the territory generally included under that denomination. It denotes, in its largest sense, the continent of the world, on the eastern front of Europe; in a less large sense, the great peninsula between the Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean; in a more confined sense, the proconsular Asia, or the Asia Propria of Ptolemy, comprising Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, Phrygia and the proconsular Hellespont: but, in the New Testament, it generally denotes a still narrower tract of country,—that part only of the proconsular Asia, which comprises the country of Ephesus and Lydia. In many parts of this country the Jews settled: and the industry of commentators has traced in some parts of the Epistles of St. Paul, certain marks of the Cilician dialect. In other instances they have traced the language of Persia, Arabia, and particularly of Syria.

III. 7. It should also be observed, that, *among the Jews themselves, there was a considerable difference of dialect.* The first division of the country was that by Joshua, of the whole land of Canaan among the twelve tribes. To this, a total end was put, by the destruction of the ten tribes by Salmanasar, and of the two remaining tribes by Nebuchadnezzar. After the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, and at least as

early as their government under the Asmonæan princes, the nation was distinguished by a fourfold distinction. The first was Judæa, including Idumæa; the second, was Samaria; the third, was Galilæa, distinguished into the Galilæa Superior, or the parts bordering on Phœnicia and Syria, and the Galilæa Inferior, comprising Tiberias, Nazareth, Caphernaum, the Itabyrian Mountain, and the Decapolis; the fourth, was Peræa, which comprised, with some increase, the portion of the Promised Land, occupied by the tribes of Ruben and Gad. All of them were under the government of Herod the Great. Upon his death, Augustus allotted Judæa, Idumæa and Samaria, to his son Archelaus, under the title of Ethnarch; Galilæa and Peræa, to Herod Antipas, another of his sons, under the title of Tetrarch; and Ituræa and Trachonitis, and the greatest part of the country beyond the Jordan, to Philip, his other son, under the same title. Some time afterwards, Archelaus and Herod Antipas were banished, and the territories in their governments were reduced into a Roman province. On the death of Philip, the territory in his government was added to the proconsulate of Syria. Each of these divisions had its own provincial dialect. The speech of Peter, when Christ appeared before the tribunal of Caiphas, betrayed him to be a Galilæan. But a difference of dialect was the slightest of the many points of difference between the *Samaritans* and

the general body of the Jews. They were of a different origin; the Samaritans being a mixed body of people, chiefly Cuthites, but all of heathenish extraction, sent by the king of Assyria to repeople the kingdom of the ten tribes, whom he had carried into banishment. Some time after their arrival in the land of Israel, they embraced the worship of the true God, and built a temple to his honour on mount Gerizim, asserting against the Jews, that it was the place consecrated by God himself to his worship. It is supposed, that they worshipped several heathen deities in conjunction with the true God. Religious hatred seems never to have been carried further than it was between the Jews and the Samaritans. They admitted the divine authority of the Pentateuch, but rejected the other books of the Old Testament.

The Samaritan Pentateuch has been a subject of much discussion. Care must be taken to distinguish between the Pentateuch in the Hebrew language, but in the letters of the Samaritan alphabet, and the version of the Pentateuch, in the Samaritan language. One of the most important differences between the Samaritan and the Hebrew text, respects the duration of the period between the deluge and the birth of Abraham. The Samaritan text makes it longer by some centuries than the Hebrew text; and the Septuagint makes it longer by some centuries than the Samaritan. It is observable, that, in her authentic translation

of the Latin Vulgate, the Roman Catholic Church follows the computation expressed in the Hebrew text: and in her Martyrology, follows that of the Seventy. See an excellent Dissertation, by Father Tournemine, *De Annis Patriarcharum*, at the end of his edition of Menochius, 2 vol. fol. Paris, 1719. The arguments of Don Pezron (*l'Antiquité des Temps retablie*, and *Defense de l'Antiquité des Temps*), in favour of the Chronology of the Septuagint, are very strong, and are countenanced by every probable system of the chronology of oriental nations. A shorter period than that of the Septuagint, is scarcely reconcileable with their chronology.

Such was the general state of the Jews, as far as it may be supposed to have influenced their language, at the time of the arrival of Christ. Whatever influence it had on their language when they expressed themselves in Hebrew, the same, and not in a less degree, it had on it, when they expressed themselves in Greek.

IV.

The Biblical labours of Origen and St. Jerom are well known, and are mentioned in these observations. From the death of St. Jerom, to the revival of letters under the pontificate of Leo the Xth, a period of about one thousand years, now comes under consideration.

IV. 1. The comparatively *low state of literature, and of the arts and sciences, during this middle age*, must be acknowledged; but justice claims our gratitude to the venerable body of men, who strove against the barbarism of the times, and to whose exertions we principally owe the precious remains of sacred or prophane antiquity, which survived that calamitous æra. For whatever has been preserved to us of the writers of Greece or Rome; for all we know of the language of those invaluable writers; for all the monuments of our holy religion; for the sacred writings which contain the word of God; and for the traditions of the wise and good respecting it, we are almost wholly indebted, under providence, to the zeal and exertions of the priests and monks of the church of Rome, during the middle age. If, during this period, there were a decay of taste and learning, it is wholly to be ascribed to the general ruin and devastation, brought on the Christian world, by the inroads and conquests of the barbarians, and the other events, which were the causes or consequences, of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Besides, while we admit and lament, we should not exaggerate, the literary degradation of the times we speak of. Biblical literature, the immediate subject of the present inquiry, was by no means entirely neglected. Dr. Hody, in his most learned *Historia Scholastica Hebraici Textus Versionumque Græcæ et*

Latinæ Vulgatæ, places this circumstance beyond the reach of controversy. He proves, that there never was a time, even in the darkest ages, when the study of the original language of the Holy Writings was wholly neglected. In England alone, the works of Venerable Bede, Holy Robert of Lincoln and Roger Bacon, shew how greatly it was prized and pursued there. On the mathematical learning of the middle age, see *Montucla*: Athelard in the 12th century translated Euclide, IV. 212.

IV. 2. Copies of works were not then multiplied, at the party's will, by the instantaneous operation of the press. They were transcribed by the labour of individuals, a task of infinite pains and perseverance, and to which, (for gain was out of the question), nothing but the conscientious and unwearied *industry of a religious copyist* was equal. To this Gerhardus Tychsen, professor of philosophy and oriental literature, formerly at Butzow, now at Rostock, (the two Universities of Butzow and Rostock being united), in his *Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS. Rostockii*, 1772, bears ample testimony. He observes, that all manuscripts of the Masorah, with figures of dragons, sphinxes, bears, hogs, or any other of the unclean animals; all manuscripts of the Testament, with the Vulgate translation, or corrected to it, or corrected to the Septuagint version; all manuscripts, not written with black

ink, or in which there are words written in gold letters, or where the words or the margin are illuminated; and all manuscripts, where the word Adonai is written instead of the word Jehovah, were written by Christians, and not by Jews. "I "am sensible," says he, "that it is the general "opinion, that the study of the fine arts was "buried during the middle ages. It is not, how-"ever, less certain, that, while during many ages, "literature was crushed every where else, she "found a refuge in monasteries. From unex-"ceptionable evidence, it may be shewn, that, "while some of the monks applied themselves to "the study of divinity, medicine, or dialectic, "others made themselves thoroughly acquainted "with the Hebrew language, in order to con-"found the Jews, in their disputes with them, by "producing the original texts: others, (of whom "some were proselytes from the Jewish religion), "attained the highest skill in Calligraphy, and "copied Hebrew manuscripts,"—"I cannot deny," he says in another part of his work, "that in Spain, "formerly the paradise and nursery of monks, "Calligraphy arrived at its summit of excellence, "particularly in monasteries. The Jews, with "whom Spain at that time abounded, appear to "have learnt it from them. In proof of this "assertion, I may appeal to some Hebrew manu-"scripts, which I myself have seen, where the "letters throughout are so equal, that the whole

" has the appearance of print. Frequently, after " reflecting on this singular circumstance, I have " been inclined to think, that the monks, who " cultivated the study of Calligraphy with great " eagerness, had the forms of all the letters of the " alphabet, impressed into or engraved out of thin " plates; that whole pages or columns of these " plates were placed under the parchment or " vellum, on which it was intended to write, so " that, by drawing a pencil over them, the monks " were able to produce this surprising equality of " letters; or, it may have been that the shapes or " forms of the letters were first imprinted upon " the parchment or vellum, and afterwards filled " up." The monks of England equally excelled in sacred Calligraphy. " There was not one " religious person at Woolstrop, but that he could " and did use, either embrothering, writing book " with very fair hand, making their own garments, " carving, painting or graffing." *Strype's Memoirs*, vol. i. 255. Such is the acknowledged merit of the monks as transcribers of the Holy Writings.

IV. 3. *The Jews bestowed on the copies made by them*, even an excess of care. It has been a constant rule with them, that, whatever is considered as corrupt, shall never be used, but shall be burnt, or otherwise destroyed. A book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with

any thing but ink, or written on parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt: that no word shall be written, without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart, or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer: that, before he writes the name of God, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that, if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the length and breadth of each sheet, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word and each section. These Maimonides mentions, as some of the principal rules to be observed in copying the sacred rolls. Even to this day, it is an obligation on the persons who copy the Sacred Writings, for the use of the Synagogue, to observe them. Those who have not seen the rolls, used in the Synagogues, can have no conception of the exquisite beauty, correctness and equality of the writing.

V.

But the attention of the Jews was by no means confined to the writing of the copies of the Holy Word; they made almost incredible exertions to preserve the GENUINENESS AND INTEGRITY OF THE TEXT.

V. 1. This produced what has been termed the *Masorah*, the most stupendous monument in the whole history of literature, of minute and persevering labour. The persons who were employed in it, and who afterwards received from it the name of Masorites, were some Jewish literati, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian æra. With a reverential, not to say superstitious attention, of which history does not furnish an instance, to be urged in comparison with it, they counted all the verses, words and letters, of all the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and of each of those twenty-four books, and of every section of each book, and of all the subdivisions of each section. "The matter of the *Massora*," says Mr. Lewis, in his *Origines Hebrææ*, *vol. iv. p.* 156, "consists in critical remarks upon the "verses, words, letters, and vowel points of the "Hebrew text. The Massorets were the first "who distinguished the books and sections of "books into verses, and marked the number of "the verses, and of the words and letters in "each verse; the verses, where they thought "there was something forgot; the words, which "they believed to be changed; the letters, which "they thought superfluous; the repetitions of the "same verses; the different reading the words "which are redundant or defective; the number "of times that the same word is found in the be-"ginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different

" significations of the same word; the agreement " or conjunction of one word with another; the " number of words that are printed above; which " letters are pronounced, and which are turned " upside down; and such as hang perpendicular; " and took the number of each; it was they, in " short, who invented the vowel points, the ac- " cents, and made divers critical remarks upon " the punctuation, and abundance of other things " of equal importance."

" A great part of the labour of these Jewish " Doctors consisted in counting the letters of the " Hebrew text; and the letter Nun in the word " Gehon, is in the Talmud observed to be in the " very middle of the Pentateuch. Father Simon " gives an account of a manuscript copy, which " he saw, where that part of the Massora that " belonged to the letters, was to this purpose. " " There are twelve parscioths, or great sections, " in Genesis: there are forty-three of those which " are called sedarim, or orders: there are one " thousand five hundred and thirty-four verses, " twenty thousand seven hundred and thirteen " words, seventy-eight thousand one hundred " letters; and the midst of the book consists in " these words, Ve al harbeka tihieh, in chap. " xxvii. ver. 40. There are five points (these are " points made on the top of some letters men- " tioned by St. Jerom). Exodus has eleven par- " scioths, thirty-three sedarim, one thousand two

" hundred and nine verses, sixteen thousand five " hundred and thirteen words, sixty-three thou- " sand four hundred and sixty-seven letters; and " these words, Elohim lo tekallel, in chap. xxii. " ver. 27. are in the very middle of this book. " There are in Leviticus ten parscioths, twenty- " five sedarim, eight hundred and fifty-nine " verses, eleven thousand nine hundred and two " words, forty-four thousand nine hundred and " eighty-nine letters; and these words, Vehan- " nogia bibesar, in chap. xv. ver. 7. are the middle " words. There are in Numbers ten parscioths, " thirty-three sedarim, one thousand two hundred " and eighty-eight verses, sixteen thousand seven " hundred and seven words, sixty-two thousand " five hundred and twenty-nine letters; and these " words, Ve haia-is asher ebehar, in chap. xvii. " ver. 20. are the middle words. There are in " Deuteronomy ten parscioths, thirty-one se- " darim, nine hundred and fifty-five verses, six- " teen thousand three hundred and ninety-four " words, fifty-four thousand eight hundred and " ninety-two letters; and the middle words of " this book are, Ve ascita alpi hadavar, in chap. " xvii. ver. 10."

Such is the celebrated Masorah of the Jews. Originally it did not accompany the text: afterwards the greatest part of it was written in the margin. To bring it into the margin, it was necessary to abridge the work itself. This abridg-

ment was called the *Masorah Parva.* Being found too short, a more copious abridgment of it was inserted. This, in contradistinction to the other Masorah, was called the *Masorah Magna.* The omitted parts were added at the end of the text, and this was called the *Masorah Finalis.*

V. 2. In the Jewish manuscripts and printed editions, a word is often found with a small circle annexed to it, or with an asterisk over it, and a word written in the margin of the same line. The former is called the *Kethibh,* the latter the *Keri.* In these, much mystery has been discovered by the Masorites. Some have supposed them coeval with the text; and that they were communicated, verbally, by Moses himself: so that he instructed the people generally, and the Levites, his own people, in particular, that the word he had written in such a manner, should be understood in such another manner, and communicated his reasons for it. This, they say, came by oral tradition to the Masorites, who committed it to writing. The prevailing opinion is, that they are partly various readings, collected from the time of Esdras, and partly critical observations, or, as they have been called, insinuations, of the Masorites, to substitute proper or regular for improper and irregular, and sometimes decent for indecent expressions, in the text. It is observable, that none of them occur in the prophecy of Malachi.

VI.

THE next care of the Jews was to ascertain and fix the pronunciation. (*See Fourmont's Dissertation, Mem. de l'Academie, vol.* 30. *p.* 432.) With this view they invented the *Vowel Points.* To understand this, it may be proper to observe, that every language necessarily consists of those sounds, which are produced by the mere act of opening the mouth, and which are therefore called vowels; and of those, which are produced both by opening the mouth, and by particular application of its three principal organs, the lips, the teeth, and the tongue; and which, from the joint operation necessary to produce them, are called consonants. In most languages, the marks or signs, made use of in writing, to denote the vowel sounds, do not exceed five. But each of these is susceptible of the different inflections of the grave, the slender, and the close; and those require a still further subdivision. Now the natural, or as they may be termed, the original sounds of the vowels, may be taught by precept; but their further modes, or at least the application of those modes, can only be acquired by practice. The consequence has been, that, in every language, the marks or signs used to denote the vowel sounds, by no means reach all their inflections, or shew their particular application. The object of the vowel points, was to fix a written symbol of

every sound, which the Hebrew vowels assumed in pronunciation, and to ascertain the particular sound, which each vowel should have in the syllable or place where it was used; so that a reader might find the exact sound by his eye, without any resort to usage, or any necessity for further instruction, than what a complete knowledge of the vowel points furnished. In the Hebrew alphabet, the vowel characters were but three, the Aleph, the Vau, and the Jod, corresponding to the A, the U, and the I, of the Romans. These, from the assistance they gave to the enunciation of a vast variety of words, were called the *matres lectionis*, or the mothers of reading. But they sufficed to denote a very small number only, of the many vowel sounds. Besides,—there are many words in Hebrew, which consists entirely of consonants; and of which, therefore, without the assistance of vowels, there could be no enunciation. To remedy this inconvenience, the Masorites invented the vowel points. They first settled the sounds of each of the *matres lectionis*, and laid down general rules to fix the positions, where they should be sounded, and where they should be silent. They then appropriated to their purpose two symbols, the point and the straight line. These they multiplied and combined, both separately and together, into a variety of positions and forms, and assigned to each of them the sound

of a particular vowel. Thus, leaving nothing to be acquired by use, or even by oral instruction, (except so far as it extended to the doctrines of the vowel points), they established a corresponding and appropriate sign for all the vowel sounds in the Hebrew language, and all their inflections and modifications. At first view, it must be thought, that the effect of the Masorah in preserving the integrity of the text of the Hebrew, and the effect of the vowel points in ascertaining and fixing its pronunciation, must have been very great. But several writers of great biblical name have absolutely and explicitly denied their utility. They assert both to be a modern invention; that the Masorah has only served to perpetuate the corruptions and imperfections of the text; and that the application of the vowel points to the pronunciation of the language, is a work of useless labour, and involves the learner in a maze of perplexing and disheartening difficulty. The Jews themselves have never admitted the vowel points into the rolls or manuscripts used for religious worship, in their Synagogues; and some of their ablest and most intelligent writers have joined in the opinion, that they are a modern invention, and that, so far from facilitating, they perplex and increase the difficulty of the pronunciation of the Hebrew. Few literary controversies have been agitated with more learning, or greater warmth. Capellus was first in

time, and certainly among the first in learning and ability, who contested the antiquity and utility of the Masorah, and the vowel points: they had strenuous defenders in the two Buxtorfs. In the opinion of many writers of the first eminence, (among whom are reckoned Houbigant, L'Advocat, the late Bishop Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, and Dr. Geddes), the victory is decided in favour of Capellus. Still, however, some writers of respectability are strenuous advocates in their favour.

The rejection of the vowel points made it necessary to substitute something of equal power in their room. Here Capellus was at a loss: but, some time after the beginning of the present century, Monsieur Masclef, a Canon of Amiens, found a substitute for them, he considered the Aleph, He, Vau, Jod, Heth, and Ain, to be the original Hebrew vowels. These he directed to be pronounced, wherever they occurred: and, when two or more consonants followed, without any of these supposed vowel letters, he directed, that, after each of the consonants, that vowel should be sounded, which is its auxiliary sound in the alphabet; as an E after a Beth; an I after a Ghimel; an U after a Nun; and an A after a Thau. Modern writers have improved on this system, by supposing the Ain of the Hebrew alphabet to correspond to the Roman O. This makes the number of Hebrew vowels complete. To explain the two systems more clearly, the following English

characters, supplied with Hebrew points, as below,

Gv, s, ths d r dl brd,

render, as nearly as the sounds of the two languages admit, the petition in our Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." The same letters, read after the Masclefian system, would be pronounced, Give sa thas da re dala bered. It must be admitted, that, if the pronunciation of the Hebrew, according to the vowel points, be the right pronunciation, the pronunciation of them, according to the Masclefian system, is miserably defective. But it is absolutely denied, by the advocates for the Masclefian system, that the pronunciation, according to the vowel points, is the true pronunciation. A concise statement of the arguments for and against the vowel points, may be found in Houbigant's preface to his *Racines Hebraiques*, *Paris* 1732. Those, who wish to investigate the subject further, must have recourse to the writings of Capellus, and the two Buxtorfs, who, though first in the controversy, completely exhausted the subject.

It should be added, that Masclef never thought of restoring the pronunciation of the living language: he knew the attempt to be desperate; and its impracticability was his defence. Giving up, therefore, the original pronunciation as irrecoverable, he carried his views no further, than to devise some mode of pronunciation, easily to be

acquired, by which the reader of the Hebrew might give some utterance, right or wrong, it mattered not, to every word. He admitted, that his own was a false pronunciation: but he contended, that the Masoritic was equally false, and that the sort of falsehood which obtained in his mode of pronunciation, was far less mischievous than that of the Masoritic.

However, few of those who disregard the vowel points, at this time, follow Masclef entirely. When a vowel is to be supplied between two consonants, (which is not always necessary), some make it a rule to sound between them an ă or an ĕ: others, whichever of the five vowels unites best with the letters of the word. The latter mode produces a tolerably good pronunciation, if care be taken to sound the supplied vowels short, and the original vowels of the alphabet, when they occur, long. To acquire a consummate knowledge of the vowel points, and of the rules for their application, and to be able to pronounce the Hebrew language, according to them, readily, is an arduous undertaking. Extreme perfection is seldom attained in it, by a person not born and educated a Jew. But some progress in it is necessary, even to a moderate knowledge of the language. The vowel points form a sort of cypher, conveying to those, who will take the pains to understand it, a perpetual comment upon the sacred text of the Old Testament, by the Jewish literati.

Doctor Semler, (*Apparatus ad liberalem V. T. interpretationem, Halæ* 1773), expresses this very forcibly: *Jus fas non est, temere projicere atque negligere ista interpretum publica ministeria; sed nec Judaico stupore et vanâ religione nostros implere decet.*

VII.

VII. 1. An attention to the study of the language, naturally produces a desire to be acquainted with the HISTORY OF THE JEWS. The Sacred Writings, which compose the Old Testament, lead the reader to the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and their wars under the Asmonæan princes: thus far also the works of Flavius Josephus accompany him; thence they lead him on to the time of their final dispersion.

Few parts of ancient history are less attended to, than that which comprehends the period of time, which intervened between the return of the Jews from the captivity, and the birth of Christ. Yet, on many accounts, it deserves particular attention.

Year of the World.

By the decree of Cyrus, Zerubbabel, the prince or chief of the Jews, was sent to rebuild the temple in - - - - 3469

Joshua, son of Josedeck, lineally descended from Aaron, was at that time high priest; and the priesthood remained in his

family, till it was assumed by Judas Macchabæus, and by that means passed into the family of the Asmonæans. This was a period of 369 years - - - - - 3838

It continued in the Asmonæan family, till they were destroyed by Herod—a period of 129 years. In the last year of his reign Christ was born - - - 3967

The three following genealogical Tables will serve to explain this period.

The first is a genealogical account of the high priests, who, after the captivity, officiated in the temple built by Zerubbabel, or, as it is generally called, the Second Temple;—from him, it is entitled *Stemmata Zerubbabellano-Pontificia.*

The second is a genealogical Table of the Macchabæan, or, as they are more properly called, the Asmonæan princes;—from them, it is entitled *Stemmata Asmonæana.*

The third is a genealogical Table of Herod's family; from his Idumæan extraction, it is entitled *Stemmata Idumæana.*

It should be observed, that they contain the names of those persons only, of whom particular mention is made, in the Jewish history, and of those, through whom the descent to them is deduced: so that, except in this point of view, the Stemmata produced here are very incomplete. Those who wish to see them at full length, will find them in Anderson's *Royal Genealogies.*

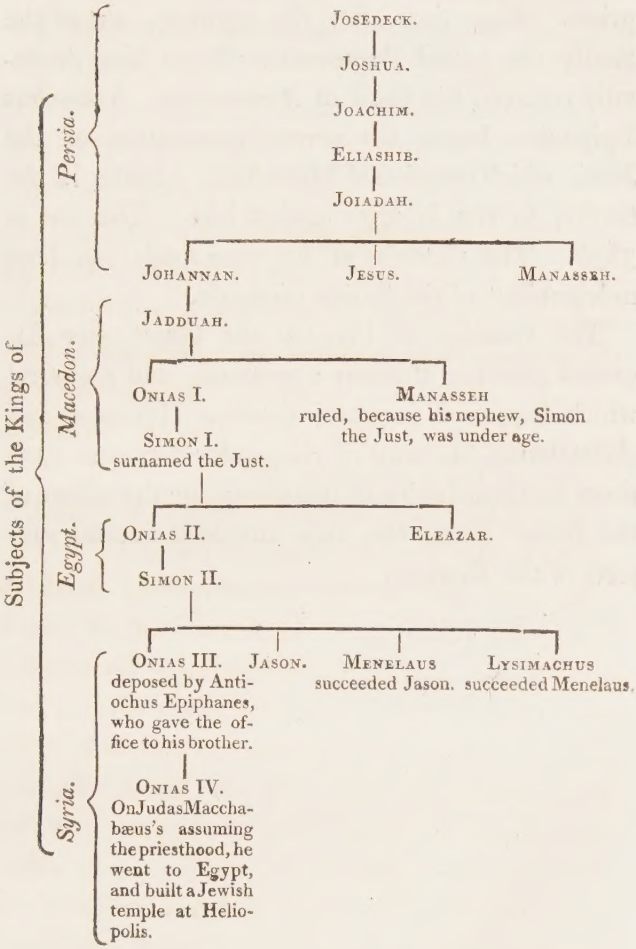
The Idumæan pedigree is excellently stated in Relandus's *Palestina*, in the second volume of Brotier's *Tacitus*, and more at length in Noldius's *Historia Idumæa*, published in Havercamp's edition of Josephus.

Josedeck, the first of the high priests mentioned in the *Stemmata Zerubbabellano-Pontificia*, was high priest when the captivity began. His son assisted Zerubbabel in rebuilding the Temple. Eliashib was contemporary with Artaxerxes Longimanus, called in Scripture, Ahasuerus, who married Esther the adopted daughter of Mordecai. Johannan slew his brother Jesus.

Manasseh, their brother, retired to Samaria, and built the Temple on mount Gerizim.

In the time of the priesthood of Jadduah, Alexander passed into Asia, and put an end to the Persian empire, by the victories he obtained over Darius. The Jews thereupon became subjects of the kings of Macedon. This was in 3670. They continued such, till, in 3700, Ptolemy Soter declared himself king of Egypt; and then they became a part of his subjects. In 3806, Antiochus Magnus, king of Syria, defeated the Egyptian army in the battle of Paneas, and seized all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. The Jews then became subjects of the kings of Syria.

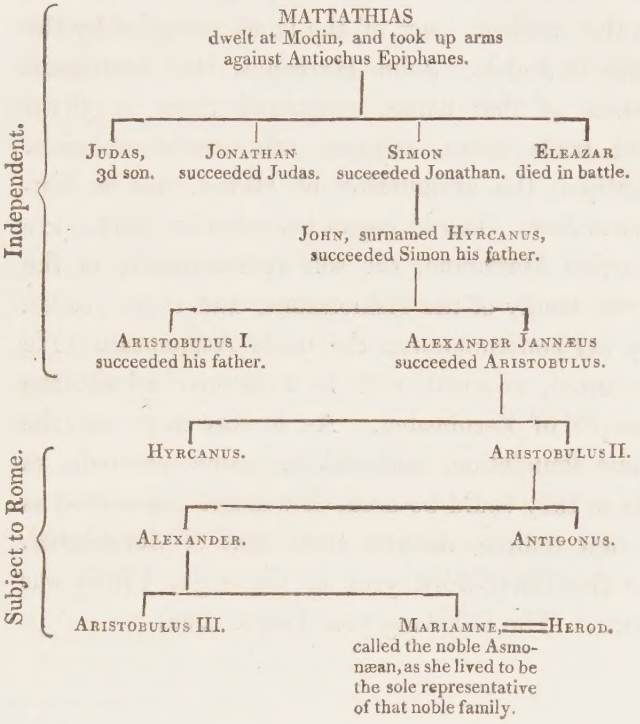
STEMMATA ZERUBBABELLANO-PONTIFICIA.



The family of Joarib was the first class of priests of the sons of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high priest. Some time after the captivity, one of the family was called Asmonæus. From him the family received the name of *Asmonæans*. Antiochus Epiphanes began the severe persecution of the Jews, which occasioned Mattathias, a leader in the family, to rise in arms against him. This was in 3836. The victories of his sons made the Jews independent of the Syrian monarch.

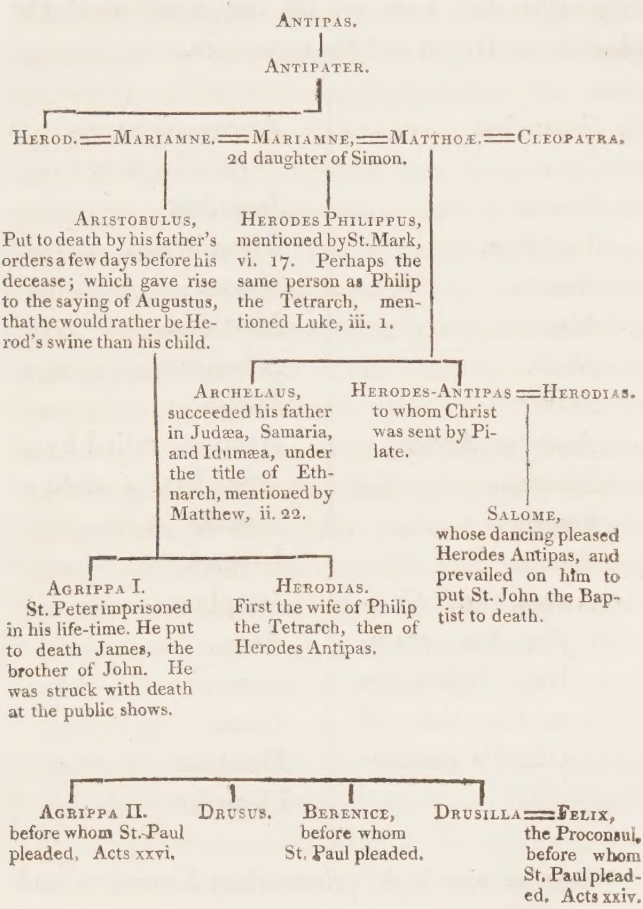
The victories of Pompey the Great over Tigranes gave the Romans a pretence, and a quarrel which happened in 3940, between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the sons of Alexander Jannæus, gave them an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Jews. From this time the Jews became subjects of the Romans.

STEMMATA ASMONÆANA.



When the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, the Edomites, or *Idumæans*, possessed themselves of the southern part of the lands occupied by the tribe of Judah. John Hyrcanus, the Asmonæan prince of that name, conquered them in 3875, and made them embrace the Jewish religion. Antipas, the grandfather of Herod, was an Idumæan Jew. Herod began his reign in 3967. He married Mariamne, the sole representative of the noble family of the Asmonæans, and thence called by her contemporaries the noble Asmonæan. He enlarged, adorned, and in a manner rebuilt the temple of Zerubbabel. As it was built on the same foundation, and with the same materials, as far as they could be used, it was not considered as a new temple, distinct from that of Zerubbabel. In the thirty-third year of his reign, Christ was born. The following year Herod died.

STEMMATA IDUMÆANA.


ANTIPAS.
ANTIPATER.
HEROD.
MARIAMNE.
MARIAMNE, 2d daughter of Simon.
MATTHOÆ.
CLEOPATRA.
ARISTOBULUS, Put to death by his father's orders a few days before his decease; which gave rise to the saying of Augustus, that he would rather be Herod's swine than his child.
HERODES PHILIPPUS, mentioned by St. Mark, vi. 17. Perhaps the same person as Philip the Tetrarch, mentioned Luke, iii. 1.
ARCHELAUS, succeeded his father in Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, under the title of Ethnarch, mentioned by Matthew, ii. 22.
HERODES-ANTIPAS to whom Christ was sent by Pilate.
HERODIAS.
SALOME, whose dancing pleased Herodes Antipas, and prevailed on him to put St. John the Baptist to death.
AGRIPPA I. St. Peter imprisoned in his life-time. He put to death James, the brother of John. He was struck with death at the public shows.
HERODIAS. First the wife of Philip the Tetrarch, then of Herodes Antipas.
AGRIPPA II. before whom St. Paul pleaded, Acts xxvi.
DRUSUS.
BERENICE, before whom St. Paul pleaded.
DRUSILLA
FELIX, the Proconsul, before whom St. Paul pleaded. Acts xxiv.

The following is a catalogue of the High Priests, from the beginning of Herod's reign, till the final destruction of the temple. They had no hereditary right, but were set up and removed at the pleasure of Herod and his successors.

Ananclus.
Jesus.
Simon.
Josephus.
Joazar.
Eleazar.
Jesus.
Joazar.
Anna or Annas.
Ishmael.
Eleazar.
Simon.
Annas, and Caiaphas his son-in-law, colleagues at the time of Christ's passion.
Annas alone:— Acts iv. & v.
Jonathas.
Theophilus.
Simon.
Matthias.
Ælionæus.
Joseph.
Ananias, called by St. Paul a white wall.
Ishmael.
Josephus.
Anna.
Jesus.
Jesus.
Matthias.
Phannias.

Phannias was high priest when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed by Titus Vespasian. This was in the 70th year of the Christian æra. Since that time the Jews have neither had temple, nor high priest, nor holy city.

VII. 2. With respect to *the present state of the Jews*, their history, from the death of Christ to the present century, has been ably written by Monsieur Basnage. It presents a scene of suffering and persecution unparalleled in the annals of the world. Wherever the Jews have been established, they necessarily have borne their share of the evils of the age in which they lived, and the country in which they resided. But, besides their common share in the sufferings of society, they have undergone a series of horrid and unutterable calamities, which no other description of men have experienced in any age or any country. "What "have ye done, O ungrateful men!" exclaims Bossuet; "slaves in every country, and under "every prince, still ye serve not strange gods. "Why then has God, who chose you, forgotten "you? Where are his ancient mercies? What "crime, what atrocity more heinous than ido- "latry, has brought on you a punishment, that "even your repeated idolatries did not bring "upon you? Ye are silent! Ye see not what "makes your God thus inexorable! Then recol- "lect the words of your fathers,—Let HIS blood "be on us and on our children; WE will have no "other King than Cæsar. Be it so: the Messiah "shall not be your King,—continue slaves of "Cæsar, slaves of the sovereigns of the earth, "till the Church shall be filled with the Gentiles! "Then only shall Israel be saved." But while

we reverence, in their sufferings and calamities, the prophecies which foretold them, so long before they happened; while, in humble silence and submission, we adore the inscrutable and unsearchable decrees of God, who thus terribly visits the sins of fathers on their children, we shall find, that, in judging between them and their persecutors, it is a justice due to them from us, to acknowledge, that, if on some occasions they may be thought to have deserved their misfortunes by their private vices or public crimes, it has oftener happened, that they have been the innocent victims of avarice, rage, or mistaken zeal. *Res est sacra, miser.* Their sufferings alone entitle them to compassion; and our compassion for them should rise to an higher feeling, when, to use the language of St. Paul, (Rom. ix. 4, 5, and 6), we consider, "that theirs was the adoption, the glory, the co-"venants, the law, the worship, the promise, "and the fathers, and that from them descended "the Christ according to the flesh, who is God "over all, blessed for ever" (Rom. xi. 26, 28); "that the hour approaches, when all Israel shall "be saved, when the deliverer shall come out of "Zion, and shall turn away ungodliness from "Jacob;" and that, even in their present state of rejection, "they are beloved of God, for their "fathers' sake."

To the honour of the See of Rome, it must be said, that the Roman Pontiffs, with a small

exception, have treated them with lenity, defended them against their persecutors, and often checked the mistaken zeal of those, who sought to convert them by force. St. Gregory the Great always exhorted his clergy and the other parts of his flock, to behave to them with candour and tenderness. He repeatedly declared, that they should be brought into the unity of faith, by gentle means, by fair persuasions, by charitable advice, not by force: and, that, as the law of the state did not allow their building new synagogues, they ought to be allowed the free use of their own places of worship. His successors, in general, pursued the same line of conduct. The persecutions excited by the Emperor Heraclius against the Jews, were blamed at the fourth council of Toledo, which declared, "that it was unlawful and un-"christianlike to force people to believe, seeing "it is God alone who hardens and shews mercy "to whom he will." St. Isidore of Seville was a strong advocate for mild treatment of them. There is extant a letter from St. Bernard, to the Archbishop of Mentz, in which he strongly condemns the violence shewn them by the crusaders. At a latter period, Pope Gregory the IXth, a zealous promoter of the crusade itself, observing, that the crusaders in many places began their expedition with massacres of the Jews, not only loudly reprehended them, but took all proper methods of preventing such barbarity. Pope Nicholas the IId

protected them, in his own dominions, even against the inquisition: and sent letters into Spain, to prevent their being compelled to abjure their religion. Pope Alexander the VIth, (a greatly injured character), received with kindness, and recommended to the protection of the other Italian states, the Jews who came to Rome or other parts of Italy, on their banishment from Spain and Portugal. Paul the IIId shewed them so much kindness, that Cardinal Sadolet thought him blameable for carrying it to an excess. By the bulls of Pius V. and Clement the VIIIth, they are banished from the papal dominions, except Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. Pope Innocent the XIth gave them several marks of his favour. "Popish Rome," says Barrios, "hath always "protected the Jews, ever since Titus destroyed "Jerusalem."

Of the state of the Jews during the middle ages, we have curious and interesting accounts by Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre, and Rabbi Pitachah; two learned Jews, who, in the twelfth century, visited the principal cities of the East, where the Jews had synagogues, and returned through Hungary, Germany, Italy, and France. A wish to magnify the importance of their brethren, is discernible in the writings of both; and, for their extreme credulity, both are justly censured. But, after every reasonable deduction is made on these accounts, from the credibility of

their narratives, much will remain to interest even an intelligent and cautious reader. At different times, the Jews have been banished from France, from Germany, from Spain, from Bohemia, and from Hungary. We have particular accounts of the miseries of those, who were banished from the last of these kingdoms. They were banished from England in the reign of Edward the First, but were permitted to return by Oliver Cromwell. Numbers of them are settled in Persia, in the Turkish Empire, in Fez, Morocco, Barbary, in many parts of the East Indies, in some part of Germany, in some of the Italian states, in Poland, in Prussia, and the Hanse towns. Their condition is most flourishing in England and Holland; but Poland is the principal seat of their literature. They have no accurate deduction of their descent or genealogy. They suppose, that, in general, they are of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, with some among them of the tribe of Levi; but the Spanish and Portuguese Jews claim this descent, exclusively for themselves, and, in consequence of it, will not by marriage, or otherwise, incorporate with the Jews of other nations. They have separate synagogues; and if a Portuguese Jew should, even in England or Holland, marry a German Jewess, he would immediately be expelled the synagogue, deprived of every civil and ecclesiastical right, and ejected from the body of the nation. They found their pretensions on a sup-

position, which prevails among them, that many of the principal families removed, or were sent into Spain, at the time of the captivity of Babylon. See the *Reflexions Critiques*, added to the second letter, in the incomparable collection, intitled, *Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais, Allemands, et Polonais, à M. de Voltaire.*—It is certain, that a large body of Jews is established in China; the best account of them is in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. iii. p. 567.

All Jews, say the authors of the Universal History, from Basnage, feel the dignity of their origin, recollect their former pre-eminence, with conscious elevation of character, and bear with indignation their present state of degradation and political subserviency. But they comfort themselves with the hope, that their hour of triumph is at hand, when the long expected Messiah will come, will gather them from the corners of the earth, will settle them in the land of their fathers, and subject all the nations of the earth to his throne.

VII. 4. *With respect to the religious tenets of the Jews*; they are thirteen in number, and are as follows—

1. " I believe with a true and perfect faith that " God is the Creator, (whose name be blessed), " governor and maker of all creatures, and that " he hath wrought all things, worketh and shall " work for ever.

2. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " Creator, (whose name be blessed,) is one, and " that such an unity as in him, can be found in " none other; and that he alone hath been our " God, is and for ever shall be.

3. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " Creator, (whose name be blessed), is not cor- " poreal, not to be comprehended with any bodily " properties; and that there is no bodily essence " can be likened unto him.

4. " I believe with a perfect faith, the Crea- " tor, (whose name be blessed), to be the first " and the last, and that nothing was before him, " that he shall abide the last for ever.

5. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " Creator, (whose name be blessed), is to be " worshipped, and none else.

6. " I believe with a perfect faith, that all the " words of the prophets are true.

7. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " prophecies of Moses, (our master, may he rest " in peace), were true. That he was the father " and chief of all wise men, that lived before him " or ever shall live after him.

8. " I believe with a perfect faith, that all the " law, which, at this day, is found in our hands, " was delivered by God himself, to our master " Moses, (God's peace be with him).

9. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " same law is never to be changed, nor any

" other to be given us of God, (whose name be " blessed).

10. " I believe with a perfect faith, that God, " (whose name be blessed), understandeth all the " works and thoughts of men: as it is written in " the prophets; He fashioneth their hearts alike; " He understandeth all their works.

11. " I believe with a perfect faith, that God " will recompense good to them who keep his " commandments, and will punish those who " transgress them.

12. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " Messiah is yet to come; and, although he " retard his coming, yet I will wait for him till " he come.

13. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the " dead shall be restored to life, when it shall seem " fit unto God the Creator, (whose name be " blessed, and memory celebrated world without " end, Amen)."*

VII. 5. *The doctors and teachers of the Jews have been distinguished by different appellations.* Those employed in the Talmud were, from the high authority of their works, among the Jews, called *Aemouroïm*, or Dictators. They were succeeded by the *Seburoïm*, or Opinionists, a name given them, from the respect which the Jews had for their opinions; and because they did not dictate doctrines, but inferred opinions by disputation

* Note I.

and probable arguments. These were succeeded by the *Gheonim*, or the Excellent; who received their name, from the very high esteem, and even veneration, in which they are held by the Jews. They subsisted till the destruction of the academies of the Jews in Babylon, by the Saracens, about the year 1038. From that time the learned among the Jews have been called *Rabbims*, or the Masters.

It is seldom, that a Jew applies himself to profane literature. Even the lawfulness of it has been generally questioned. Some have greater respect than others for the Talmudical doctrines. In consequence of using in his writings some free expressions concerning them, a violent storm was raised against Maimonides. Kimchi, and, generally speaking, all the Spanish and Narbonnese doctors, took part with him. The others, led on by R. Solomon, the chief of the synagogue of Montpellier, opposed him. Both parties were equally violent, and the synagogues excommunicated each other. This dispute commenced about the middle of the twelfth, and lasted till nearly the thirteenth century.

VII. 6. But the great distinction of the Jewish Rabbins is that of the *Tanaits* or *Rabbanists* and *Caraites*. The first are warm advocates for the traditionary opinions, generally received among the Jews, particularly those of the Talmud; and for the observation of several religious ceremonies and duties, not enjoined by the law of Moses:

the second absolutely reject all traditionary opinions, and hold all rites and duties, not enjoined by the law of Moses, to be human institutions, with which there is no obligation for a Jew to comply.

Some writers consider the Tanaits, or Rabbanists and Caraits, as Pharisees and Sadducees, under other names. Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus, seu clavis Scripturæ*, printed at Zurich in 1649, p. 26, says, " At nondum hodie expirasse Pha- " risæorum ordinem recenti et memorabili plané " historia probat Joh. Myll. Rabb. p. 71. Ego, " existimo, nec Pharisæos primis illis per omnia " æquales, nec Sadducæos hodie in nostris oris, " (in orientalibus enim Climatibus sub Muhamme- " tismo præsertim, multos delitescere Sadducæos, " probare fortè proclivius esset; vide Taarich Pers. " Schikh. p. 134, & Geog. Nubiens. Par. 7. " Clim. 3.) superesse: Παχυμερως tamen Phari- " sæos dici quos Rabbanistas melius vocaris; Sad- " ducæos, qui Karræi vulgo appellantur."—In this general sense, the traditions in the Talmud, being now so extensively received by the Jews, Pharisaism may be considered the prevailing doctrine in the Hebrew religion.

VII. 7. *The Cabala* is divided into three sorts: —By the first, the Jews extract from the words of Scripture recondite meanings, which are sometimes ingenious, but always fanciful. The second, is a sort of magic, in employing the words and letters of the Scripture, in certain combinations,

which, they suppose, have power to make the good and evil spirits of the invisible world familiar to them. The third, which is properly the Cabala, is an art, by which they profess to raise mysterious expositions of the Scripture, upon the letters of the sentences, to which they apply them. The whole is fancy and imagination. This, some even among the Jews, acknowledge.

VII. 8. When Rousseau says in his Emile, " Je ne croirai jamais avoir bien entendu les rai- " sons des Juifs, qu'ils n'aient une état libre, des " écoles, des universités, où ils puissent parler et " demeurer sans risque; alors seulement, nous " pourrons sçavoir ce qu'ils ont à dire," he evidently writes on a subject, of which he is perfectly ignorant. At all times, the Jews have had schools, and numberless are *the works they have published, in defence of Judaism, and against the Christian religion.* The most celebrated of these are the *Toledoth Jeshu,* a work replete with the boldest blasphemy; and the *Chizzouk Emounah,* or buckler of faith, a work of great ability. These and some other writings of the Jews against Christianity, are collected, and an ample refutation of them published, in the *Tela Ignea Satanæ,* of Wagenseil, *Altdorphi Noricorum,* 1681. The *Pugio Fidei* of *Raymundus Martinus* is considered to be a learned and powerful defence of the Christian religion, against the arguments of the Jews; and, though it be not free from the literary defects of

the times in which it was written, it still preserves its reputation. The *Amica Collatio de veritate Religionis Christianæ cum erudito Judæo*, of Limborch, and the papers published with it, form one of the most interesting and entertaining works of controversy, that have appeared upon any subject. La Croze's *Entretiens sur divers sujéts de l'histoire, de literature, de religion, et de critique, Cologne*, 1711, 8vo. contain a supposed dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, which gives some notion of the principal objections of the Jews to the Christian religion, and their manner of urging them.

VII. 9. *It is a mistake to suppose the Jews an intolerant people.* They hold all men obliged to observe, what are called the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. These are—1st, not to commit adultery; 2dly, not to blaspheme; 3dly, to appoint just and upright judges; 4thly, not to commit incest; 5thly, not to commit murder; 6thly, not to rob or steal; and 7thly, not to eat a member of any living creature. But they hold the Jews alone obliged to conform to the Sinaitic covenant, or law of Moses. They say, it was a covenant between God and the Jews; that the Jews therefore are bound to the performance of it; but that it is not binding on the rest of mankind. Those, who forsake idolatry, and profess to follow the precepts of Noah, are called by them, *Proselytes of the Gate*; and, while the Jewish govern-

ment existed, were permitted to live among them. Those, who take on them the observance of the whole law, are called *Proselytes of Justice or Righteousness*; they are initiated to it, by ablution, sacrifice, and circumcision; and are thenceforth considered to be Jews, for all purposes, except intermarriage, from which some nations are excluded for ever, others till after the third generation.

VIII.

With respect to the HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT:

VIII. 1. It is observable, that no extensive collation of the *Hebrew manuscripts* of the sacred text was made till the last century. This was owing, in a great measure, to the notion which had been formed, of the integrity of the sacred text, in consequence of its supposed preservation from error, by the wonder-working Masorah. In the annals of literature, a more striking instance, perhaps, does not occur to shew, how unsafe it is to adopt received opinions without examination, than the general acquiescence of the learned in that opinion. The Rabbins boldly asserted, and the Christians implicitly believed, that the Hebrew text was free from error, and that, in all the manuscripts of it, not an instance of a various reading of importance could be produced. "*Qua latissimè patent* "*oriens et occidens, uno ore, uno modo, verbum*

" *Dei legitur*; *et omnium librorum, qui in Asiâ,* " *Africâ, vel Europâ sunt, sine ullâ discrepan-* " *tiâ, consonans harmonia cernitur.*" Such is the astonishing language of Buxtorf, in his Tiberias. The first, who combated this notion in the form of regular attack, was Ludovicus Capellus. From the difference he observed between the Hebrew text and the version of the Seventy, and between the Hebrew and the Samaritan Pentateuch, from the manifest and palpable corruptions he thought he saw in the text itself, and from the many reasons, which made him suppose the vowel points and the Masorah were both a modern and an useless invention, he was led to question the general integrity of the text, and even his enemies allowed, that, in his attack upon it, he discovered extreme learning and ingenuity. Still, however, he admitted the uniformity of the manuscripts. When this was urged against him by Buxtorf, he had little to reply. At length, (what should have been done before any thing had been said or written on the subject), the manuscripts themselves were examined, and innumerable various readings in them discovered. From this time the Biblical criticism of the sacred text took a new turn: manuscripts were every where collated, were examined with the same attention, the various readings of them were discussed with the same freedom, and their respective merits ascertained by the same rules of criticism, as had been before used in

respect to manuscripts of profane authors. The celebrated collation of Dr. *Kennicott* was begun in the year 1760. He undertook to collate all the manuscripts of the sacred text in England and Ireland; and, while he should be employed in this, (which he supposed might be about ten years), to collate, as far as the expence would admit, all the Hebrew manuscripts of importance, in foreign countries. The first volume was printed in 1776; the second, and only other, in 1780. Dr. Kennicott himself collated two hundred and fifty manuscripts: under his direction, and at his expence, Mr. Bruns collated three hundred and fifty: so that the whole number of manuscripts collated, on this occasion, was six hundred. There is, however, reason to suppose, that some of the manuscripts were confounded and numbered more than once: on this ground it has been asserted, that the number of them should be reduced to about five hundred and eighty. Dr. Kennicott mentions in his Preface several manuscripts, which it was not in his power to collate. It appears, that, in his opinion, fifty-one of the manuscripts collated for his edition were from six hundred to eight hundred, and that one hundred and seventy-four were from four hundred and eighty to five hundred and eighty years old. Four quarto volumes of various readings have since been published by M. *De Rossi* of Parma, from more than four hundred manuscripts, some of which are said to be of the seventh or

eighth century, as well as from a considerable number of rare and unnoticed editions, under the title of *Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti, ex immensâ manuscriptorum editorumque codicum congerie, haustæ et examinatæ,—Parmæ*, 1786. The matter, however, is far from being exhausted, particularly if the possible treasures of the East be taken into calculation. The consequence of these extensive collations has been, to raise a general opinion among the learned, 1st, that all the manuscript copies of the Hebrew Scriptures now extant may, in some sort, be called Masoritic copies, because none of them have entirely escaped the rude hands of the Masorites: 2dly, that the most valuable manuscripts, generally speaking, are those, which are oldest, written at first without points or accents, containing the greatest number of real vowels, or *matres lectionis*, exhibiting marks of an accurate transcriber, and conforming most to the ancient versions, and, with regard to the Pentateuch, conforming most to the Samaritan exemplar and the Greek uninterpolated version: 3dly, that the Masoritic copies often disagree, and that, the further back they go, the greater is their disagreement from the present printed copy: 4thly, that the synagogical rolls disagree the least from the printed copies, so that they are of little value in ascertaining the text:—(the late Dr. Geddes mentioned to the writer, that he would not change the smallest fragment of an old manuscript, of the

tenth age, for the finest synagogical roll in Europe:) 5thly, from all this, they conclude, that the surest sources of emendation, are a collation of manuscripts and parallel places; a comparison of the text with the ancient versions, and of these with one another; grammatical analogy; and, where all these fail, even conjectural criticism. The merit of Dr. Kennicott's labours is generally acknowledged; his opinions on the state of the Hebrew text are generally received: and the high pretensions of the Masorah are generally rejected. Still, however, the ancient opinions have some advocates. They do not go so far as to assert, that a collation of Hebrew manuscripts is perfectly useless; but they think it may be prized higher than it deserves: that, when manuscripts of an earlier date than the Masorah are sought for, it should not be forgotten, that the Masorites had those manuscripts, when they settled the text; and what hopes can there be, they ask, that, at the close of the eighteenth century, after the Hebrew has long ceased to be a spoken language, a Christian, so much of whose time is employed in other pursuits, and distracted by other cares, can make a better use of those manuscripts than was actually made of them, by the Masoritic literati, whose whole time, whose every thought, from their earliest years to their latest age, was devoted to that one object; who lived among the people, and almost in the country, where the events,

recorded by them, happened,—who saw, with their own eyes, the manners they describe, and daily and hourly spoke and heard a language kindred to that, in which they are written? But, if there must be a collation of manuscripts, then, say they, no manuscript written by any other than a Jew, or wanting any one of the before mentioned marks of authenticity, should be taken into account: and, trying the question of the integrity of the text by these, which they call the only authentic manuscripts, no question, they assert, will remain of the perfect integrity, and perfect freedom from corruption, of the present text. Where it can be shewn, that the text of the Masorah is corrupt, the genuineness of the Bible reading may be doubted: but where there is no reason to impeach the Masorah, the text, as they assert, is beyond controversy. Wolfius, Bibl. Hebræa, tom. ii. 332, boldly says, "*Congerantur in cumulum, si quis* "*subnasci unquam potest, omnes varietates, et* "*omni ego pignore contendere ausim, eas magis* "*ad stabiliendam quam dubiam reddendam lec-*" *tionem hodie receptam inservituras esse.*"— Opitius, in the last page but one of his Preface, says, still more confidently, "*Quin, si vel omnes* "*impressi, vel manuscripti codices convenirent* "*in asserendâ lectione quâdam, contrarium vero* "*pronunciaret Masora, confidenter ejus secuti* "*sumus auctoritatem, si modo nobis constaret* "*illam esse genuinam.*" The same opinion is

adopted by Tychsen, in his work already cited; and to enforce it, appears to have been his chief object in writing that work. The *Titres Primitifs* of Fabricy, *Rome* 1772, contain much curious learning, urged with a considerable degree of ingenuity, in favour of the Masoritic system.—*Tantas non nostrum est componere lites.*

VIII. 2. With respect to *the printed editions of the Hebrew Bible*, those, which have appeared to deserve particular attention, are, the edition at Soncino, in 1488, from its being the first printed edition of the whole Bible; the edition at Brescia, in 1494, from its being the edition used by Luther, in his translation; the edition printed in 1517, without the name of any place. These three editions are called the *Soncinates*, being printed by Jews of a family, which came originally from Germany, and established themselves at Soncino, a town in Lombardy, between Cremona and Brescia. They were the first Hebrew printers. Some of them afterwards established themselves in Bologna, Brescia and Rimini.

Their edition of 1488, as being the first printed edition of the whole Bible, is in great request; there are not known to be more than nine copies of it in Europe; one of them is in the library of Exeter college, in Oxford; it is printed very incorrectly. Their edition of 1494 is less incorrect; it contains many various readings, not to be found in the

subsequent editions; these often account for the differences in Luther's version.

Bomberg's edition was printed five times, and is distinguished by the beauty of the type; but, not being divided into chapters and verses, is unfit for general use. The first of his editions was printed in 1518, the last in 1545: they were all printed at Venice, and are all in 4to.

A person acquiring the fourth of them, would have a great typographical curiosity, as it is only known to exist from the title of the fifth.

Robert Stephens's 16mo edition is most elegantly printed. It is in seven volumes, and was printed at Paris 1544—1546. He had before printed a 4to edition at Paris, in four volumes, 1539—1544.

Of that of *Menasseh ben Israel*, in 4to, published at Amsterdam, in 1635, father Simon observes, that it has the advantage not only of being very correct, but likewise of being printed in two columns.

The celebrated edition of *Athias*, a Jew, and printer at Amsterdam, was published in that city, first in 1661, and afterwards in 1667, with some corrections and a learned preface: it is remarkable for being the first edition in Hebrew, in which the verses are numbered. It was beautifully reprinted by *Everardhus Vander Hooght*, in two volumes 8vo, 1705. Concerning this edition, Jablonski says in the preface to his own of 1696, p. 3,

" Biblia illa Athiæ, nitidissima sunt: in literis " quidem perraro, in verbis frequentius, in voca- " libus sæpissime aberrare deprehenduntur." This edition has the general reputation of great accuracy. Some have called its accuracy in question; but the elegance of the type, the beauty of the paper, and the fine glossy blackness of the ink, cannot be denied. His text was adopted by Dr. Kennicott, in his edition. The Doctor observes, that the variations between the edition printed in 1488, and the edition of Vander Hooght, amount, upon the whole, to above twelve thousand. The states of Holland rewarded Athias's labours, with a present from them of a golden chain, and a golden medallion pendent from it.

The *Plantinian editions* have considerable merit for their neatness and accuracy.

The edition of *Nuñes Torres*, with the notes of Raschè, was begun in 1700, was printed in 1705, and has always been the favourite edition of the Jews.

Most of the former editions were surpassed by that of *Michaelis* in 1720, in octavo, quarto and folio; the first critical, and a most useful edition, exhibiting various readings, not only in the consonants, but likewise in the vowels and accents.

The editions, of which we have been speaking hitherto, are of the Hebrew alone, without any translation. The most celebrated edition of the Hebrew with a Latin translation, was that of

Sebastian Munster. The first volume of the first edition was printed in 1534, the second volume in 1535; the second edition was printed in 1546. It was the first Latin translation by any of the separatists from the see of Rome.

Santes Pagninus was the first of the communicants with that see, who made an entirely new Latin version. It was published at Lyons, in 1528, and has often been republished. That it is an accurate and faithful translation, all acknowledge; that the Latinity is barbarous, cannot be denied; but, as it was the author's plan, to frame a verbal translation, in the strictest and most literal sense of that word, its supposed barbarism was unavoidable, and cannot, therefore, be imputed to it, as a fault. With some improvement, and accompanied by the New Testament in Greek, and the vulgate translation of it in Latin, it was published with notes in 1542, by the celebrated Servetus. Arias Montanus printed it, with many corrections, in the Antwerp Polyglott: and this corrected translation has gone through a multitude of editions. Of these, the edition of Geneva in 1619 is the best.

An edition, little known in this country, but, in many respects, highly valuable, is that, published by *Lewis de Biel*, a Jesuit at Vienna, in 1743, in four volumes large octavo. It contains the Hebrew and two Latin versions, that of the vulgate edition, in 1592, and that of Arias

Montanus. It is ornamented with vignettes, and the initial letters are on engravings, representing some fact of sacred history, to which the immediate subject is applicable.

The celebrated edition of the Rev. *Charles Francis Houbigant*, an oratorian, was published in four volumes folio, with a Latin version and prolegomena, at Paris, in 1753. The expense of printing this edition amounted to 35,000 livres, though little more than three hundred copies of it were printed; it is now become scarce. The prolegomena and the Latin version have been printed separately. The merit of this edition is celebrated by all, who are not advocates for the Masorah: by those it is spoken of, in the very harshest terms. Several manuscripts were occasionally consulted by the author: but it is evident, that he did not collate any one manuscript throughout.

Mention has been already made of Dr. *Kennicott*'s edition, and the subsequent labours of *De Rossi*. Prior to Houbigant's edition, was that of *Reineccius*, at Leipsic, in 1725, reprinted there in 1739. A new edition of it was printed in 1793, under the inspection of Dr. Doederlein, and Professor Meisner. It contains the most important of the various readings collected by Dr. Kennicott and M. de Rossi, printed under the text. For the purpose of common use, it is an excellent edition, and supplies the want of the splendid but

expensive editions and collations, of Houbigant, Kennicott and De Rossi.

Those who extend their Biblical researches to the Chaldee Paraphrases and Rabbinism, are recommended, by the learned in those too much neglected branches of Biblical literature, to the *Biblia Rabbinica* of *Bomberg* and *Burtorf*, to the *Biblia Rabbinica* of *Rabbi Moses*, published at Amsterdam, in four volumes, folio, in 1724—1727; and particularly to that printed at Mantua in 1742—1744, by *Rabbi Jediah Solomon Moses*. It is in four volumes 4to. but little known; and contains a collation of some ancient Manuscripts, and of the oldest printed editions of the Hebrew text, extracts from both the Thalmuds, the Medraschim, the most ancient Jewish annotators, an excellent critical commentary, and much other useful matter. The purchasers of the Biblia Rabbinica of Rabbi Moses should see, that the copy offered to them contains the treatise of the Rabbi Abdias Sporno, *de Scopo Legis*, which, in the copies designed for sale to Christians, is generally omitted.

IX.

IX. 1. With respect to the GREEK MANUSCRIPTS,—it should be premised, that there is no reason to suppose, that the *Autographs*, or *Original* manuscripts of the sacred Penmen of the

New Testament, existed in the third century. See Griesbach, *Historia Textus Epistolarum Pauli.* Various readings of the New Testament were noticed as early as St. Clement of Alexandria: he remarks the double reading of ἐνδυσάμενοι, and ἐκδὺσάμενοι, in 2 Cor. v. 3. Oecumenius, who copied the ancients, observes, that, in 1 Cor. xv. 51, some manuscripts read οὐ before ἀλλαγησόμεθα, and omit οὐ before κοιμηθησόμεθα.

IX. 2. The Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, which have reached us, are, according to Wetstein's account, *written either on parchment or vellum, or paper.* The parchment or vellum is either purple-coloured, or of its natural colour; and either thin or thick. The paper is either silken, or of the common sort; and either glazed, or of the ordinary roughness. The letters are either capital, (generally called uncial), or small. The capital letters are either unadorned and simple, and the strokes of them very thin and straight; or they are of a thicker kind, uneven and angular. Some of them are supported on something like a base, others are ornamented, or rather burthened, with a top. Letters of the first description are of the kind generally found on the ancient monuments of Greece; those of the last, resemble the paintings of half barbarous times. Manuscripts, therefore, written in the first kind of letter, are generally supposed to be of the sixth century, at the latest; those, written in the second kind of

letter, are generally supposed to be of the tenth century. The manuscripts written in the small letters are of a still later age. But the Greek manuscripts, copied by the Latins, after the reign of Charlemagne, are in another kind of alphabet; the α, the ε, and the γ, in them, are inflected, in the form of the letters of the Latin alphabet. Even in the earliest manuscripts, some words are abbreviated. At the beginning of a new book, the four or five first lines are often written in vermilion. Few manuscripts of the entire New Testament have been discovered. The greater part contain the Gospels only; very few have the Apocalypse. In almost all, (and this is particularly the case of the older manuscripts), several leaves are wanting; sometimes they are replaced in a writing of a much later date. All the manuscripts have obliterations and corrections. But here a material distinction is to be attended to: some of the alterations are made by the writer himself, others by other persons and at a subsequent time. The first are said to be *a primâ manu*, the second *a secundâ manu*.

IX. 3. The curious and extensive collations, which have been made of manuscripts within this century, have shewn, that *certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other*, and that their text is distinguished from others by characteristic marks. This has enabled the writers on the subject to arrange them under certain general classes. They have observed, that, as different countries had

different versions, according to their respective languages, their manuscripts naturally resembled their respective versions, as the versions, generally speaking, were made from the manuscripts in common use. Pursuing this idea, they have supposed four principal editions: 1st, the Western edition, or that used in the countries where the Latin language was spoken;—with this, the Latin versions coincide: 2d, the Alexandrine edition;—with this, the quotations of Origen coincide: 3d, the Edessene edition, from which the Syriac version was made: and 4th, the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan edition: the greatest number of manuscripts written by the monks on mount Athos, the Moscow manuscripts, the Slavonian or Russian versions, and the quotations of St. Chrysostom and Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria, are referrible to this edition. The readings of this edition are remarkably different from those of the other editions; between those, a striking coincidence appears. A reading supported by three of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading is sometimes found only in the fourth: and it should always be remembered, that a reading may have many manuscripts in its favour, but that, if they all belong to the same family, or recension, they are to be regarded as a single testimony.

IX. 4. From the *coincidence observed between many Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate*, or some other Latin translation, a suspicion arose in the

minds of several writers of eminence, that the Greek text had been altered throughout, to the Latin. This seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus; but it does not appear that he supposed the alterations were made before the fifteenth century: so that the charge of *Latinizing* the manuscripts did not, in his notion of it, extend to the original writers of the manuscript, or, as they are called, the writers a *primâ manu*, as it affected only the subsequent interpolators, or, as they are called, the writers *a secundâ manu*. Father Simon and Mill adopted and extended the accusation; and it was urged by Wetstein with his usual vehemence and ability; so that it came to be generally received. Bengel expressed some doubts of it; and Semler formally called it in question. He was followed by Griesbach and Woide; and finally brought over Michaelis, who, in the first edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, had taken part with the accusers; but, in the fourth edition of the same work, with a candour, of which there are too few exemples, declared himself persuaded, that the charge was unfounded, and totally abandoned his first opinion. Carrying the proof to its utmost length, it only shews, that the Latin translations, and the Greek copies, were made from the same exemplars. This rather proves the antiquity of the Latin translations, than the corruption of the Greek copies. It is also observable, that St. Jerom corrected the Latin from the Greek: a circum-

stance known in every part of the western church. Now, (as Michaelis justly observes), when it was known, that the learned father had made the Greek text the basis for his alterations in the Latin translation, it is scarcely to be imagined, that the transcribers of the western church would alter the Greek by the Latin. It is still less probable, that those of the eastern church would act in this manner.

IX. 5. Besides the manuscripts which contain whole books of the New Testament, other manuscripts have been consulted, with a view to find out the true readings of the text; among these are the *Lectionaria*, or collections of detached parts of the New Testament, appointed to be read in the public service of the church. These are distinguished into the *Evangelistarium*, or lessons from the Gospel, and the *Apostolos*, or lessons from the Acts and Epistles. The quotations from the New Testament, in the works of the antients, have also been consulted.

IX. 6. The *principal manuscripts are the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or Codex Bezæ, and the Codex Vaticanus.* The Codex Alexandrinus consists of four volumes; the three first of them contain the Old Testament; the fourth, the New Testament, together with the first Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of the second. The Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezæ, is a Greek and Latin

manuscript of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. The Codex Vaticanus contained, originally, the whole Greek Bible. The respective ages of these venerable manuscripts have been a subject of great controversy, and have employed the ingenuity and learning of several biblical writers of great renown. After a profound investigation of the subject, Dr. Woide fixes the age of the *Codex Alexandrinus* between the middle and end of the fourth century; but Semler, with greater probability, believes it was written in the seventh century; and Michaelis, nearly in agreement with him, places it between the sixth and eighth. After a similar investigation, Dr. Kipling fixes the age of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, or the Codex Bezæ, at the second century: but Mr. Herbert Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 708—715, invincibly demonstrates, that it was not written beyond the fifth century. Montfaucon and Blanchini refer the *Codex Vaticanus* to the fifth century. But we are infinitely better acquainted with the two first, than with the third of these manuscripts. In 1786, a fac-simile edition of the New Testament in the Codex Alexandrinus was published at London, at the expence of the University of Oxford, by Dr. Woide. His preface, with the addition of valuable notes, was republished at Leipsic, in 1788, by Professor Spohn. In 1793, a fac-simile edition of the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezæ, was published at Cambridge,

at the expence of the University, by Dr. Kipling. These editions exhibit their respective prototypes, page for page, line for line, word for word, contraction for contraction, rasure for rasure, to a degree of similarity hardly credible. The types were cast for the purpose, in alphabets of various forms, that they might be varied with the manuscript, and represent it more exactly. Of a work of this kind, till those we are speaking of were published, the world had not seen an instance. That which approached nearest to them, was the Virgil, published at Florence in 1741; from the Medicæan manuscript, supposed to be of the latter end of the fifth century. The Codex Vaticanus has been often collated, but never published. Bentley procured important extracts to be made from it: these were published by Professor Birch, with his own, in the splendid edition of the four Gospels, which we shall, afterwards, have occasion to mention.

X.

From the manuscripts of the New Testament, the passage is to the printed editions, commencing with the POLYGLOTT EDITIONS, by reason of their superior importance.

The first is that of *Complutum* or *Alcala*. It is divided into six parts, and may be comprised in four volumes folio. It has the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three distinct columns; the Chaldee

paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, is at the bottom of the page, and the margin is filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals: the fourth, or last volume contains the Greek Testament, with no other translation than the Latin. It was begun in 1502, the impression was printed off in 1517, and it was published in 1522. The expence of the work, which amounted, (it is said), to fifty thousand ducats, was wholly paid by Cardinal Ximenes, one of the noblest and fairest characters that ever appeared on the theatre of the world. "The "variety, the grandeur, and the success of his "schemes, leave it doubtful," says Dr. Robertson, "whether his sagacity in council, his prudence "in conduct, or his boldness in execution, de- "serve the highest praise. His reputation is "still high in Spain, not only for wisdom but "sanctity; and he is the only prime minister "mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries "reverenced as a saint, and to whom the people "under his government ascribed the power of "working miracles." An interesting and pleasing account of his earnestness in promoting the success of the work is given by the writers of his life. The principal persons, employed by the cardinal in the work, were Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Demetrius Cretensis, Ferdinandus Pentianus, Lopes de Stunicâ, Alphonsus, a physician of Alcala, Coronel, Zamora, and Vergara. It was printed by Arnoldus Brocarius. "I have often heard," says

Gomecius, the cardinal's earliest biographer, "John "Brocarius, the son of Arnoldus, relate to his "friends, that, when his father had put the finish- "ing stroke to the last volume, he deputed *him* to "carry it to the cardinal. John was then a lad; "and, having drest himself in a very elegant suit "of clothes, he approached Ximenes, and delivered "the volume into his hands. 'I render thanks 'to thee, O God!' exclaimed Ximenes, 'that thou 'hast protracted my life to the completion of these 'biblical labours;' "and conversing with his "friends, the cardinal would also observe, that the "various difficulties of his political situation, so "succesfully surmounted, afforded him not so "much solace, as that which arose from the finish- "ing of the Polyglott."—It is mentioned in one of the Letters of Erasmus, (*tom.* ix. 228, and see *Hist. Lit. Reformationis Pars* I. 60, 61), that Stunica, having found Cardinal Ximenes reading Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, expressed his surprise, that his Eminence should vouchsafe even to cast a look upon a work, so full, as he termed it, of faults and monstrous errors; that the Cardinal with great gravity reproved Stunica for his insolence; and desired him, if he were able, to produce a more valuable work, and in the mean time, not to defame the labours of others. The anecdote does honour to the Cardinal's memory, as it shews his candour, and how free he was from that little jealousy of authors, which was one of the

strange blemishes in the character of the great rival of his political fame, the Cardinal minister of Lewis the XIIIth.—Cardinal Ximenes died in 1517, not long after the Polyglott was finished. It is certain, that Cardinal Ximenes spared no expence in collecting both Hebrew and Greek manuscripts; but, whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been much doubted. The doubt gave rise to a literary controversy in Germany, which was chiefly managed by Semler and Goeze; the former denying, the latter asserting, the value of the Cardinal's manuscripts. Griesbach, in his Prolegomena to his last edition of the New Testament, and Mr. Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis's Introduction, side with the former. In 1784, when Professor Birch was engaged in his edition of the Bible, Professor Moldenhawer went to Alcala, for the purpose of discovering the manuscripts used in the Ximenian Polyglott. After much enquiry, he discovered, that, about thirty-five years before, they had been sold to a rocket-maker, of the name of Toryo; and the receipt given to him for his purchase was produced.—Another objection made to the Complutensian Polyglott is, that its editors, in consequence of too high an opinion of the Vulgate, and a mistaken zeal for the Christian religion, introduced sometimes, into the Greek text, readings of the Vulgate, which they did not find in the Greek manuscripts; they are likewise charged with having altered the Greek according to the

Hebrew. Both these accusations are shewn to be ungrounded; the former by *Michaelis Prient und exeget. Biblioth.* vol. ix. p. 162. vol. xii. p. 120; the latter *by Eichorn, Einleil. ins. A. T.* vol. i. p. 351.

Six hundred copies only of the Complutensian Polyglott were printed off. The common price of a copy is from forty pounds to sixty: it is exceedingly difficult to procure complete copies of it; in most copies the part containing the Hebrew-Chaldaic lexicon is wanting. A small number, (it is thought not more than four), were printed on vellum. One of these, at the sale of the Pinelli library, was sold to Mr. Macartney, for four hundred and eighty-three pounds. For a typographical description of the work, see De Bure's *Bibliographie Instructive, Theologie*, Art. I.

The Complutensian Polyglott was followed and excelled by the *Polyglott of Antwerp*, printed in that city in 1569—1572, in eight volumes folio, including lexicons, grammars, and other literary apparatus, under the direction of Arias Montanus. It contains, besides the whole of the Complutensian edition, a Chaldee paraphrase of part of the Old Testament, which Cardinal Ximenes, having particular reasons for not publishing it, had deposited in the Theological library at Complutum. The New Testament has the Syriac Version, and the Latin translation of Santes Pagninus, as reformed by Arias Montanus. Copies of this Polyglott also

are very rare, five hundred only having been printed, and a considerable number of those having been sent to Spain and lost in their passage.

The Polyglott of Paris, printed in 1628—1645, in ten volumes folio, is one of the most splendid works, that ever issued from the press. It was printed at the expence of Monsieur Le Jay. Cardinal Richelieu offered to defray the whole cost of the impression, and to give Le Jay the whole profit of the sale, on condition, that he should let it pass under his name. On the other hand, the booksellers of London offered him very advantageous terms, on condition, that it should be called, the London Polyglott: he refused both offers. Unfortunately the work had not a sale, so that the editor was completely ruined by it. It contains all that is in the Polyglott of Alcala and Antwerp, with the addition of a Syriac and Arabic version of the greatest part of the Old, and of the whole of the New Testament, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and its version. The Chaldee paraphrase, (but not the corresponding Latin translation), was likewise corrected in this Polyglott, from the Venetian and other editions; but the Hebrew text is extremely inaccurate.

Less beautiful, but more accurate, and comprehending more than any of the three preceding Polyglotts, is the *Polyglott of London*, printed in 1653—1657, in six volumes. The editor of it was Dr. Bryan Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester.

Twelve copies of it are said to have been printed on large paper: one, of great beauty, is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral; another, was in that of the Count de Lauraguais; another, is in the library of St. John's College at Cambridge. The title expresses its contents. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum, versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII Interpretum, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulgatæ Latinæ, quidquid comparari potuit.* Thus nine languages are used in this edition; but no one book of the Bible is printed with so many. The antiquarian and critical apparatus or appendix in the sixth volume, is extremely valuable, as is also the lexicon, particularly in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic parts. The Hebrew and Syriac have been published separately, at Goettengen, in quarto; the Hebrew by J. L. F. Trier, a pupil of Michaelis, in two parts, 1790—1791; the Syriac, with additions and improvements, by Michaelis himself, also in two parts, in 1788.——We are informed by Castell, in the preface to his Lexicon, that, if Walton and Clark had lived, it was their intention to have added another volume to the Polyglott. An account of the materials of which it was intended to be composed, is given in a letter of Castell's to Lightfoot. (Op. Posthum. Franeq. 1690. p. 180.)

The following works, *Discours historiques sur les Editions des Bibles Polyglottes* 1781, 12mo. *Paris*;—*Dissertations sur les Prolegomenes de Walton*, 8vo. *Liege*;—Mr. Bowyer's *Origin of Printing*, 8vo. 1776, *London*;—and particularly Mr. Adam Clarke's *Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles, from the publication of that by Porrus in the year* 1516, *to that of Reinneccius in* 1750, *&c.* 8vo. 1802, *Liverpool*, mention several curious facts respecting the London Polyglott.

From the last of these publications, it appears, that the publication of it was first begun to be carried into execution in the year 1652, seven years after the year 1645, when Le Jay's Polyglott was published; but that before this time, Dr. Walton had collected and arranged his principal materials, and had subscriptions for it to the amount of four thousand pounds. He then, under the sanction of the English Bishops, published his proposals for the publication, with a printed letter signed by himself, Archbishop Usher, and four other distinguished literary characters, and dated the first of March, in the year 1652. The Protector greatly encouraged the undertaking: the council of state gave permission to import the paper duty-free;—this permission was continued by the Protector, after he had dissolved the Rump Parliament; and there is reason to suppose the Protector and council contributed, out of the public money, one thousand pounds to

begin the work. The four thousand pounds subscribed before the proposals for subscription were issued, were doubled before the September following. The whole was paid into the hands of Mr. William Humble, the treasurer of the work. The first volume was put to the press about the beginning of October 1653, the whole work was finished in 1657, three years before the Restoration. After the Restoration, Doctor Walton presented the work to King Charles the Second, who made him his chaplain in ordinary, and, in 1661, promoted him to the Bishopric of Chester. His obligations to the Protector and council, who had so nobly encouraged his work, the Doctor acknowledged in his preface, as it stood originally, in very handsome terms; after the Restoration, the two last leaves of the preface were cancelled, and their places supplied with three others: in those, his obligations to the council and Protector are very obscurely expressed; and in mentioning Charles the First, he speaks of him as a blessed spirit, εν αγιοις. In the cancelled leaves, the epithets of rank, *Serenissimus*, *Illustrissimus*, *et Honoratissimus*, were not inserted, but they found their place in the substituted leaves; several complaints and invectives are introduced in them against the republicans; and there are many other variations. From the circumstances we have noticed, the copies which have the original leaves are called the *Republican*, those which have the substituted leaves

are called the *Loyal* copies: but, in the Loyal copies themselves some differences have been found, so that there must have been two copies even of those. Perhaps the Republican leaves were cancelled as early as the resignation of Richard Cromwell, in 1659, which was two years after the Polyglott was finished.

To complete the London Polyglott, two works must be added, the *Paraphrasis Chaldaica in librum priorem et posteriorem Chronicorum: auctore Rabbi Josepho, rectore Academiæ in Syria, a Davide Wilkins, Amstel.* 1715, 4*to.* and the *Lexicon Heptaglotton of Castell, in* 2 *volumes folio, London* 1669. Mr. Clarke pronounces Castell's Lexicon to be, "probably the greatest "and most perfect work of the kind ever per-"formed by human industry and learning." He informs us that "Dr. Castell laboured at it for "seventeen years, from sixteen to eighteen hours "each day; during which time he maintained in "his own house, at his own cost, seven English-"men and seven foreigners." Some copies of the work have in the title, "Londini, Scott, 1686," which shews there was a reimpression of the title.

The purchaser of the London Polyglott should also procure Doctor Owen's *Considerations on the Polyglott,* 1658; Doctor Walton's reply, *The Considerator considered, &c.* 1659; and, (a work of much more real importance than either), Doctor Walton's *Introductio ad lectionem Linguarum*

orientalium, &c. London 1654, 18*mo.* reprinted with additions in the following year. This, to use Mr. Clarke's words, was the harbinger of the inestimable Polyglott.

Inestimable the Polyglott certainly is; and our wonder at the spirit and perseverance, with which it was conducted, will increase, if we recollect that it was begun and completed, in the midst of the public and private distress and dismay of the country, during the usurpation. That there is some incorrectness in the original texts, and some inaccuracy in the translations, must be admitted; but those will readily excuse them, who know the minute attention required for collations, the wearisomeness inseparable from such a task, and the inconceivable difficulty of a first translation from a dead language. Besides,—we have now an abundance of materials for such a work, which Walton and his associates were not possessed of.

" Who then," let us exclaim with Mr. Clarke, " is that *Mæcenas bishop*, who will step forth, and " invite the clergy, the laity, and even the govern- " ment itself, to assist him in publishing a *second* " edition of the English Polyglott, as far superior " to the present, as that is to all other works of " the kind? Let such an one *shew himself*, and " he shall not lack encouragement and support: " and may the hand of his God be upon him for " good!"

It is observable that in the first set of treatises forming the *Apparatus Criticus*, in the London Polyglott, there is an anonymous treatise, intitled, *Explicatio Idiotismorum seu Proprietatum linguæ Hebraïcæ et Græcæ quæ sæpius in scripturis occurrant.* The author asks, in what manner the sense of scripture is to be determined: to this question he gives five answers. Over the Fourth and Fifth answers, a paper containing other Fourth and Fifth answers is pasted. The original Fourth and Fifth answers are expressed in the language of a Roman Catholic; the Pasted Fourth and Fifth answers are expressed in the language of an High-church Protestant of the Church of England. Who was the Author of the Treatise is unknown. In the last page of sheet B of the preface, Doctor Walton says, "*His annectimus variorum auctorum* "*tractatus utilissimos, Edwardi Brerewood, Ja-* "*cobi Tyrini, &c. &c. de veterum nummis,* "*Hebræis, Græcis, Latinis, et de ponderibus et* "*mensuris*; *(quibus quædam de variis siclorum* "*figuris eorumque explicatione ex propriis obser-* "*vationibus adjecimus)*; *de Idiotismis etiam* "*præcipuis et proprietatibus scripturæ peculi-* "*aribus.*" It seems, therefore, clear, that the treatise in question was not written by Walton; and, as it is mentioned in the last sentence, it was probably written by some unknown hand, included by Walton in the *et cetera* after *Jacobi Tyrini.*

The Original Text is thus expressed.

Quartò, ex traditione, vel interpretatione S. Ecclesiæ, ex decretis conciliorum, vel summorum Pontificum, ex consensu SS. Patrum, et horum vel multorum vel paucorum, sanctitate et eruditione prælustrium, ex unanimi conspiratione Doctorum et Interpretum, sæpe constare potest de vero et literali sensu scripturæ.

Quinto, conferre antecedentia et consequentia cum loco, cujus sensus est dubius, plurimum juvat ad eundem elucidandum: et, si quidem omnia rectè congruant, sensum habebis genuinum et literalem. Quod si omnia cum pluribus sensibus recte conveniant, plures erunt loci illius sensus literales: et vel omnes æquè immediate intenti à spiritu sancto, vel unus primariò, vel alii secundario, seu mediantè priore sensu, cujus quodammodo sunt appendices.

Ubi hæc omnia adminicula vel desunt, vel non juvant, ex idiotismis Hebraicis Græcisve, quos jam exposui, subsidia quærantur: quærantur etiam ex decursu commentarii. Spero nullum Bibliorum locum non sat enodatum elucidatumve, quantum fert humani ingenii tenuitas, ab accurato lectore deprehensum iri.

The Pasted Text is thus expressed.

Quartò. Ex traditione, vel interpretatione S. Ecclesiæ ex decretis conciliorum, &c. ex consensu

SS. Patrum, et horum vel multorum vel paucorum sanctitate et eruditione prælustrium, ex unanimi conspiratione Doctorum et Interpretum, sæpe constare potest de vero et literali sensu sacræ scripturæ.

Quinto. Conferre antecedentia et consequentia cum loco, cujus sensus est dubius plurimum confert ad eundem elucidandum, &c.

Ubi hæc omnia adminicula vel desunt vel non juvant, ex idiotismis Hebraicis Græcisve, quos jam exposui, subsidia quærantur.

Every copy of the Polyglott examined by the writer or his friends has a Pasted text: *he has heard* that twelve copies, and twelve copies only, are without it.

It is observable that some bibliographers and booksellers mention copies of Walton's Polyglott, which have a double dedication, one to *the Protector*, the other to *Charles the Second*:—this double dedication has been strongly denied; and Mr. Clarke observes that "so far is a double "Dedication from the truth, that the work has "no Dedication at all." This certainly is the case of all the copies which have fallen under the writer's observation: but, a literary gentleman has assured him, that he himself has seen a copy with the Dedication to Charles the Second. Such a Dedication may have been inserted in the copy presented by Walton to the king, and in a few more copies.

The Leipsic Polyglott is comprised in three volumes folio, 1747, 1750, 1751. The first volume comprises the New Testament: it was first printed at Leipsic, in 1713, folio, and reprinted, or perhaps only republished with a new title, in 1747. It contains the Greek text between the Syriac and Vulgar Greek translations; Schmidt's Latin and Luther's German versions, with various readings from Mill and Kuster's editions; Latin Notes, and a large critical Appendix. The two last volumes comprize the Old Testament: the text of it according to the Masoritic revision, with the points, the Septuagint from Grabe's edition of the Alexandrine manuscript, corrected as far as could be, by Origen's asterisks and obeluses; with a Latin translation of it by Schmidius, and with Luther's translation, and notes of the various readings of the Vatican and other principal manuscripts, and with philological and explanatory notes. The cheapness of this edition makes it an useful substitute for the former Polyglotts.

XI.

The first of the GREEK PRINTED EDITIONS of the New Testament, in point of time, was that of *Erasmus*, with a new Latin translation. He published five editions of it, in the years 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The edition of 1519 is most esteemed. The two last were altered in many places, especially in the Revelation of St. John,

from the Complutensian edition. A brief to Erasmus from pope Leo the Xth is prefixed to it. Albertus, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mentz, writ him a most obliging letter, upon his edition, highly commending it, and desiring to see him. He sent him, with the letter, a golden cup, "amplum et "grave," says Erasmus, "et opere spectandum. "Quin et nomen indidit. Ait vocari poculum "amoris, ex quo, qui biberint, protinus benevo- "lentiâ mutuâ conglutinari. Si vera sunt hæc, "utinam theologi Lovanienses ex eâ mecum potas- "sent ante annos duos!" It is observable, that the Greek text of Erasmus latinises, or, in other words, is made to conform to the Vulgate translation, even more than that of Complutum, against which he strongly urged the charge of latinising. This edition involved Erasmus in a quarrel with the divines of Louvain, and with the Spanish divines, employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. The principal of these was Stunica, a man of real learning. The controversy between him and Erasmus is instructive and interesting. In many instances Stunica had the advantage over Erasmus: but Erasmus had greatly the advantage over Lee, his English antagonist.

We have mentioned Erasmus as the first editor of the Greek New Testament. The Complutensian edition was printed in 1514, two years before the first edition of Erasmus: but it was not published till 1517; and Erasmus did not get a copy

of it till 1522, after the publication of his third edition. De Missy, in his unfinished Essay on the Complutensian Polyglott, published at the end of the second edition of Bowyer's Origin of Printing, suggests that the Complutensian New Testament was antedated "from a jealousy of the editors "of appearing as earlier editors of so notable a "work than Erasmus." This appears to deserve examination.

The next edition of the New Testament in Greek, is that inserted in the *Complutensian Polyglott.* The learned agree in wishing the editors had described, or, at least, specified the manuscripts they made use of. The editors speak highly of them: but this was, when the number of known manuscripts was small, and manuscript criticism was in its infancy; so that, without impeaching either their candour or their judgment, their assertions, in this respect, must be understood with much limitation. It has been charged on them, that they sometimes altered the Greek text, without the authority of a single manuscript, to make it conform to the Latin. Against this charge they have been defended by Goeze, and, to a certain extent, by Griesbach and Marsh. The strongest proof in support of the charge is, that, after Stunica had reproached Erasmus in the bitterest terms, with his omission of the celebrated verse of The Heavenly Witnesses, * and Erasmus, with equal

* Note II.

vehemence, had challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek manuscript in its support, Stunica did not cite one Greek manuscript for it, but persisted in arguing from the authority of the Latin. This, the late Dr. Travis, the zealous defender of the verse, owns himself unable to account for satisfactorily. The fate of their manuscripts has been already mentioned.

The edition of *de Colines*, or *Colinaeus*, Paris 1534, 8vo. formed from manuscripts collected by himself, as we learn from Mill and Griesbach, in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, was considered by the late Dr. Harwood, an excellent judge, to exhibit a more perfect text than any other edition.

The editions of *Robert Stephens* are next to be considered. It is observable, that, while almost every other art has, from the time of its first invention, been in a state of gradual improvement to the present time, the art of printing, very soon after its first appearance, attained a degree of perfection, in many respects superior to its present state. Of this, the Greek editions of the New Testament by Robert Stephens, are a striking example. For exquisite beauty and delicacy of type, elegance and proper disposition of contractions, smoothness and softness of paper, liquid clearness of ink, and evenness of lines and letters, they have never been surpassed, and, in the opinion of many, never equalled. Four editions of them were published by himself, in 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551; his

son published a fifth in 1569; the third of Robert Stephens's editions is in folio, and has the readings of sixteen manuscripts, in the margin; the two first are in 16mo; and, of those, the first is the most correct. An address, by Robert Stephens, to his readers, beginning, "O mirificam regis nostri optimi et "præstantissimi principis liberalitatem," is prefixed to them; and from this has been given them the general appellation of the Mirificam editions. Their correctness is equal to their beauty. Till lately, an opinion generally prevailed, that the types were absolutely lost; but in the *Essai Historique sur l'origine des characteres orientaux de l'imprimerie royale, et sur les characteres Grecs de François* I^er^. *appellés communement Grecs du Roi,* published by Mr. de Guignes, in the first volume of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi,* it appears that the puncheons and matrices, used by Robert Stephens in these celebrated editions, are still preserved in the Imprimerie Royale at Paris. From the same work we learn, that in 1700 the University of Cambridge applied to the King of France to have a cast of the types; that a proposal was made them on the part of the king, that in the title-pages of the works printed by them, after the words "*typis academicis*" there should be added, *caracteribus Græcis e typographeio regio Parisiensi:* that the University refused to accede to the proposal; and that, in consequence of the refusal, the negociation went off.

The first edition of *Beza* was printed in 1565; he principally follows in it the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in 1576, 1582, 1589, 1598. They do not contain, every where, the same text. In his choice of readings he is accused of being influenced by his Calvinistic prejudices.

The celebrated edition of the *Elzevirs* was first printed at Leyden, in 1624. It was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens: where it varies from that edition, it follows, generally, the edition of Beza. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was generally followed in all the subsequent editions. It has deservedly, therefore, obtained the appellation of *Editio recepta.* The editors of it are unknown.

The celebrated edition of the Rev. *John Mill* was published at Oxford in 1707, after an assiduous labour of thirty years. He survived the publication of it only fourteen days. He inserted in his edition, all the collections of various readings, which had been made before his time; he collated several original editions; procured extracts from Greek manuscripts, which had never been collated; and, in many instances, added readings from the ancient versions, and from the quotations of them in the works of the ancient fathers. The whole of the various readings collected by him, are said, without any improbability, to amount to thirty thousand. He

has enriched his work with most learned prolegomena, and a clear and accurate description of his manuscripts. He took the third edition of Stephens for his text. He shews the highest reverence for the Vulgate, but thinks slightly of the Alexandrine manuscript. His work formed a new æra in Biblical criticism. It was reprinted by Ludolph Kuster, at Rotterdam, in 1710, with the readings of twelve additional manuscripts. While sacred criticism lasts, the learning, indefatigable industry and modest candour, of Doctor Mill, will be spoken of with the highest praise.

The edition of *John Albert Bengel*, Abbot of Alspirspack, in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, was published in 1734. He prefixed to it his "*Introductio in Crisin Novi Testamenti*;" and subjoined to it, his "*Apparatus Criticus & Epilogus.*" He altered the text, where he thought it might be improved; but, except in the Apocalypse, studiously avoided inserting in the text any reading, which was not in some printed edition. Under the text, he placed some select readings, reserving the whole collection of various readings, and his own sentiments upon them, for his Apparatus Criticus. He expressed his opinion of these marginal readings by the Greek letters, α, β, γ, δ, and ε. α denotes, that he held the reading to be genuine; β, that he thought its genuineness was not absolutely certain, but that the reading appeared to him preferable to that in the text; γ, that the reading

in the margin was of equal value with the reading in the text; δ, that the marginal reading seemed of less value; and ε, that he thought it absolutely spurious, though some critics defended it. Several small editions of Bengel's New Testament have been published in Germany. His "*Gnomon*," which is a collection of explanatory notes upon the New Testament, does not give a very high notion of his own intelligence of the sacred book.

All former editions of the Greek Testament were surpassed by that of *John James Wetstein*; of which, it is sufficient to mention, that Michaelis, his professed adversary, and who loses no opportunity of speaking harshly of him, says, that it is, of all editions of the Greek Testament, the most important, and the most necessary to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism: and, that the Rev. Herbert Marsh, the celebrated translator of Michaelis, and, perhaps, the best judge living of the merit of such a work, calls it by the emphatic appellation, of the Invaluable Book. It was published in two volumes folio, in 1751, at Amsterdam. Wetstein thinks slightly, not to say, contemptuously, (contemptuous expressions were unfortunately too familiar to him), both of the Latin Vulgate and the Alexandrine manuscript. He adopted for his text the *editio recepta* of the Elzevirs. His collection of various readings far surpasses that of Mill or Bengel. His notes are particularly valuable, for the copious extracts he

has made from the Rabbinical writers. These greatly serve to explain the idiom and turn of expression used by the Apostolic writers and Evangelists. The editions of his *Prolegomena* and of his *Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem Novi Testamenti*, by Dr. Semler, are a mine of recondite and curious Biblical learning. After every deduction is made from the merit of his edition, on account of the supposed Arianism and intemperate spirit of the author, much, very much will remain, that deserves the highest praise.

The acknowledged merit of Wetstein's edition excited a general spirit of emulation among the writers of Germany. The first, in time, as in eminence, was Dr. *John James Griesbach*, whose edition of the New Testament was first published in 1775—1777, in two volumes octavo, at Halle. In 1796, the first volume was reprinted, under the patronage, and at the expence of his Grace the Duke of Grafton. It has extracts from two hundred manuscripts, in addition to those quoted in the former edition. He has collated all the Latin versions published by Sabatier and Blanchini. His object is to give a select and choice collection of the various readings produced by Mill, Bengel and Wetstein, and of his own extracts, omitting all such as are trifling in themselves, supported by little authority, or evidently only errata. Griesbach's edition is the text book, used by the students in the German Universities. Most probably, like

Heyne's Virgil, it will become the general book of scholars, masters and literati. Previously to his publication of his edition of the Greek Testament, Griesbach published his *Synopsis*. It was printed in 8vo. in 1774, under the title, *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti*. In the year following the copies, then remaining unsold of the very same work, were given the title *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ*. A second and improved edition of it was printed in 1796, at Halle, in 8vo. Dr. Griesbach has likewise undertaken to publish an edition in 8vo. and another in 4to. (the letter of the quarto edition in Didot's types), of the New Testament, with a selection from the larger work, of such various readings as are considered in that work to be better than, or at least equal to, the received text.

The last critical edition of the Gospels in Greek was printed at Oxford, in 1798, by *Professor White*. It is a small 8vo. very elegantly and correctly printed. The editor abstains from all alterations whatever of the commonly received text; but at the same time, following the example of Origen, in his Hexaplar edition of the LXX, contrives to exhibit very distinctly to the reader's eye, all those variations found in ancient MSS. which Dr. Griesbach considers of authority either *superior* or *equal* to the common text.

In 1786, *Professor Alter* published at Vienna, in two volumes 8vo, Codex Lambecii, 1, in the

Imperial library, and thence styled by him the *Codex Vindobonensis.* He has corrected it occasionally from the edition published by Robert Stephens in 1546, subjoining, at the end of each volume, a list of these corrections, under the title of *Vitia Codicis Vindobonensis:* he has added various readings from many Greek manuscripts, from the Cophtic and Slavonian versions, and from two Latin versions in the Imperial library.

To the foregoing editions must be added the *Quatuor Evangelia Græca, cum variantibus lectionibus a textu Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ, Barberinæ, Laurentianæ, Vindobonensis, Escurialensis, Hauniensis regiæ, quibus accedunt lectiones versionum Syrarum, Veteris, Philoxenianæ, et Hierosolymitanæ, jussu et sumptibus regiis, edidit Andreas Birch. Hauniæ,* 1788, *fol. et* 4to. This is a noble fruit of royal munificence. Professors Birch, Alter and Moldenhawer, were employed, and their expences defrayed, by the present king of Denmark, to travel into Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, to collate the manuscripts of the sacred text. The work now under consideration is the result of their united labours. The text is that of Mill: the edition is particularly valuable, for the large extracts from the Codex Vaticanus. Professor Birch has since published at Copenhagen, a collection of various readings to the Acts, Epistles and Evangelists, from several manuscripts, particularly the Vatican; but they are not accompanied

with the Greek text, as his various readings to the Gospels are. For the manuscripts used by Blanchini, see Semler's Appendix to Wetstein, 635—638.

It remains only to take notice of the edition of the Greek Testament, published by *Matthæi*, formerly Professor in Moscow, now in Wittemberg, with various readings from the Moscow manuscripts, the Latin Vulgate from a Demedovian manuscript, many remarks, Greek scholia, and copper-plates representing the characters of his Greek manuscripts. Michaelis says, the author was an age behind the rest of Germany in sacred criticism, but pronounces his work absolutely necessary for every Biblical critic.

There are many other respectable editions of the Greek Testament; but those we have mentioned are confessedly the principal. The fifth of Erasmus's editions, with a slight mixture of the edition in the Complutensian Polyglott, is the principal edition from which almost all the subsequent editions have been taken. This, Dr. Griesbach, in his excellent prolegomena, has placed beyond controversy. "All the modern editions," he says, "follow that of the Elzevirs; that was taken "from the edition of Beza, and the third of "Robert Stephens; Beza copied the third of "Robert Stephens, except in some places, where "he varied from it arbitrarily, and without suffi-"cient authority. The third of Stephens imme-

" diately follows the fifth of Erasmus's editions, " except in a very few places in the Apocalypse, " where he preferred to it the Complutensian edi- " tion. Erasmus formed the text as well as he could " from a small number of manuscripts, and those " of a recent date, and without further aid than " an interpolated edition of the Vulgate, and bad " editions of a few of the fathers." The principal editions, in which Erasmus and the Complutensians have not been followed, are those of Colinæus, Mr. Bowyer, Dr. Harwood, Professor Alter and Griesbach. It were greatly to be wished, that some person would collect together, and publish with such observations and illustrations as the subjects occasionally require, the various prolegomena of Walton, Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach; the controversy between Erasmus and the Spanish divines, and Lee, and the Prefaces of Kennicott, Kipling, and Woide; with a succinct, but complete, account of the chief manuscripts and printed editions of the sacred text.—Such a manual would be of the greatest use.

XII.

It seems necessary to take some notice of the versions of the New Testament into the modern Greek. As the circumstances respecting the separation of the Greek Church from the Church of Rome, and the present state of the Greek Church, are interesting and not generally

known, it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to be presented with a detail of them.

XII. 1. *The progress of the Church of Constantinople, from a very humble station to the eminent rank she afterwards obtained* in the Christian hierarchy, is a curious and important event in ecclesiastical history. Before the seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Constantinople, the Church had the three Patriarchs of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Three dioceses were independent of them, and were subject, each, to its primate: that of Asia, to the primate of Ephesus; that of Thrace, to the primate of Heraclea; and that of Pontus, to the primate of Cesarea. It is not clear, that the Church of Constantinople had her peculiar bishop; at most, the bishoprick was inconsiderable, and the bishop subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea. After the translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the bishops of Constantinople acquired importance; by degrees, they obtained ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Thrace, Asia and Pontus, and were elevated to the rank of patriarch. The same rank was conferred on the bishop of Jerusalem. Thus, for a considerable period of time, the five patriarchs of the Christian world, were those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem. In the course of time, the patriarch of Constantinople raised himself above the other oriental patriarchs, and finally assumed the title of Oecumenical

or Universal Patriarch. The popes opposed this attempt, and preserved their own rights; and therefore, as Mr. Gibbon observes, "till the great "division of the Church, the Roman bishop had "ever been respected by the orientalists, as the "first of the five patriarchs." Vol. vi. p. 400, quarto edition.

Even in matters of ceremony in civil concerns, Constantinople yielded to Rome: the consul of the west preceded the consul of the east. After the separation of the Greek from the Latin Church, the five patriarchs were represented by five Churches in Rome: the Roman patriarchate, by the Church of St. John of Lateran; the patriarchate of Constantinople by the Church of St. Peter, in the Vatican; the patriarchate of Alexandria, by the Church of St. Paul; the patriarchate of Antioch, by the Church of St. Mary the Greater; and the patriarchate of Jerusalem, by the Church of St. Laurence. See *Onuphrius de Episcopatibus, titulis et diaconiis Cardinalium.*

The points, which the Greeks objected to the Latin Church, and upon which they professed to justify their separation from her, were, 1st, that in the article of the symbol or creed of Constantinople, which mentions the procession of the Holy Ghost, the Latin Church inserted the word "*filioque*," to describe the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and Son; 2dly, that the Latin Church acknowledged the spiritual

supremacy of the Pope; and 3dly, that, in the consecration at the sacrifice of the altar, the Latin Church used unleavened bread. The history of the temporary reunion of the Churches at the council of Florence is well known.—The attempts, which, about the middle of the sixteenth century, were set on foot, to lead the Greeks of the Levant to a reunion with the see of Rome, and the successful exertions of Cyrillus Lucaris, the patriarch of Constantinople, to prevent it, are also known: but a full and judicious history of them appears to be wanting.

XII. 2. *With respect to the present state of the Greek Church*, wherever the Turkish empire extends, the Greek Church is in a state of subjection; but, in an immense part of the globe, as both the Russias, Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia and the islands in the Mediterranean belonging to the Venetians, the Greek Church is the Church of the state. Even in his present condition of degradation, the patriarch of Constantinople holds his pre-eminence over every other prelate of the Greek Church. Mr. Dallaway observes, that "since the close of the sixteenth century, the "Russian Church has claimed a jurisdiction inde-"pendent of the see of Constantinople; never-"theless, appeals have been made to that see, in "cases of extraordinary importance." This is confirmed by Mr. King, in his "Rites and Cere-"monies of the Greek Church in Russia." Thus,

ever since the separation of the Churches, each of the two prelates, the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople, has been the centre of a different system.

XII. 3. Though Constantine transferred the seat of the Roman empire to Constantinople, he did not impose on the new capital, or the adjacent territory, the Roman language: but, from the multitude of his Latin followers, and attendants on his court, many Latin phrases, and even Latin words, were insensibly introduced into the language of the country. A similar effect must have been produced by the Venetian and French conquests of Constantinople, and by the settlements made in different parts of the empire, by a large number of Crusaders, who, either in their passage to the Holy Land, or on their return from it, must, from a multitude of causes, have established themselves in Constantinople, or the adjacent countries. A similar effect, but in a greater degree, was necessarily produced by the conquests of the Turks. These circumstances have produced almost a new language. It is called *Romeika*, and bears the same resemblance to the ancient Greek, as the Italian to the Latin, the Cophtic to the Ægyptian, the Syriac to the Arabic, or the Rabbinical to the ancient Hebrew. Between the classical writers in the ancient language of Greece and the Byzantine historians, the difference is striking; yet, in the writings of the latter, nothing of the

Romeika is discoverable. Probably, till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the ancient Greek, with some debasement, was the general language in the eastern empire, of government, religion, and literature. To the monastic communities of the Greeks, even in the present degraded state of that country, sacred learning, and particularly Biblical literature, have great obligations. Hopes are entertained, that some of the various monasteries of Greek religious, which still exist in many parts of the European, African and Asiatic dominions of the Turks, contain Biblical treasures of high value. Of these monasteries none are more famous than those on mount Athos, a ridge of mountains near the Gulph of Contessa in Macedonia. One of the mountains is considerably higher than the others; to that, the appellation of mount Athos is often exclusively applied. The monasteries are twenty-four in number, and are supposed to contain four thousand religious. The severity of their lives, and their incessant prayer, are mentioned by every traveller. They are held by all the Greek Church in the highest esteem, and its dignitaries are often chosen from among them. It seems to be agreed, that the famous Alexandrine manuscript comes from one of these monasteries. A small number of manuscripts of equal value would be an inestimable treasure: but these expectations are very much damped by the account given by father Sicard, of the result

of his researches in different monasteries in Egypt.

XII. 4. Mr. Simon, in his Critical History of the New Testament, Part II. ch. xx. observes, that, "although the Greeks have not spoken "their ancient Greek tongue for some years, as "being no longer understood by the people, "nevertheless they have not composed, even to "this present time, *any translation of the Bible* "*in the vulgar Greek.*" The first translation of the New Testament was printed at Geneva, in one volume 4to. in 1638, in two columns, one containing the ancient, the other containing the modern Greek. It was published at the expence of the United Provinces, upon the solicitation of Cornelius Haga, their ambassador at Constantinople, by certain Greeks inclining, as Mr. Simon supposes, to Calvinism. That writer assures us, that it is one of the most exact and judicious translations that have been composed in the latter ages. But from those, for whose use it was designed, it met with no favour. "Si quæras," says Largius, in his dissertation on this edition, "in quo pretio "hæc versio sit Græcis habita, omnino respondendum fuerit, pretium vix adeo magnum illam "fuisse consecutam in Græcia." Helladius, cited by Masch, has a remark on the fate of this version, which deserves attention. "If," he observes, "the effect of the version should be to supersede "entirely the ancient text, it were greatly to be

" feared, that the Greeks at large would fall into " complete barbarism; the sacred Scripture in the " ancient Greek being the only means they have, " by which, as an easy road, they can arrive at the " intelligence of other authors, particularly the " holy fathers." A new edition of the former translation, but with some alteration, was published at London, in 1703, in one volume, 12mo. by Seraphin, a monk of Mitylene. He prefixed to it a Preface, which gave offence to the Greek bishops, particularly the patriarch of Constantinople. By his order it was committed to the flames: this has made the copies of this edition extremely rare: it was reprinted in 1705. In that edition, the passages in the Preface objected to by the Greek prelates were omitted. A more correct edition of it was printed at Halle, in Saxony, in 1710, in one volume 12mo. under the patronage, and at the expence, of Sophia Louisa, the Queen of Prussia. Different parts of the New Testament have been translated, at different times, into the modern Greek; some of them by the Jews. The Greeks have an old translation of the Psalter. The authors to be consulted on this subject are, Joh. Mich. Langius, *Philologia Barbaro-Græca, Norimbergæ*, 1708, 4to. and Alexander Helladius, *Status Præsens Ecclesiæ Græcæ.*

XIII.

XIII. 1. Among the ORIENTAL VERSIONS the *Syriac* claims the first place, from the immense territory where it is spoken, having always been the language of learning, and of the higher orders of life, from the mountains of Assyria to the Red Sea. The inhabitants of Syria must be divided into the descendants of those inhabitants of the country, who were conquered by the Greeks of the Lower Empire; the Greeks, or the descendants of the Greek conquerors; and the present rulers of the country, the Ottoman Turks. The Greeks must be subdivided into those, who are separated from the Church of Rome, and the Latin Greeks, or those who are reunited to that Church. The Maronites descend from the original inhabitants of the country; they have their name from a monk called Maron, and profess to have kept inviolate the orthodoxy of their religious credence. That Nestorianism gained some ground among them, is probable; but there seems reason to suppose, that the body at large preserved its integrity. They occupy, almost exclusively, the country from the ridge of mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli. Mr. Volney computes their population at more than one hundred and fifteen thousand persons. They acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope: they are governed by a patriarch; he assumes the title of patriarch of Antioch; his residence is at

Canubin, a monastery celebrated for its high antiquity: they have many bishops, and many convents. All the ceremonies of religion are performed among them without restraint; and their chapels have bells, a thing unheard of in any other part of Turkey. The mass is celebrated in Syriac; but the Gospel is read aloud in Arabic. There is an Hospitium for them at Rome, where many of the youth receive a gratuitous education. It has produced some scholars of distinction; particularly the celebrated Assemannis, to whom sacred literature is under great obligations. While the Syriac language was spoken, it was distinguished into three dialects; the Aramean, which was the dialect of Edessa, Haran, and Mesopotamia; that of Palestine, which was the dialect of Damascus, the Lebanon, and the internal part of Syria; and the Nabathæan Chaldee, which was the dialect of the mountains of Assyria, and the Irak; but the Syriac is no longer a spoken language; except in the proceedings of government, where the Turkish language is used, the language of Syria is the Arabic.

The most ancient of the Syriac versions of the sacred text is called, the *Peshito*, or the literal; it is in general use among the Syriac Christians. It was first made known in Europe, by Moses of Marden, who was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in the year 1552, to pope Julius the IIId, to acknowledge the supremacy

of the Roman pontiff. The New Testament was first published by Widmanstadt at Vienna, in 1555; it is much esteemed for its correctness; but it does not contain four of the Catholic Epistles, or the Apocalypse, from their not being inserted in the manuscript. This work has since been reprinted by Gulbirius, at Hamburgh, in 8vo. 1664; but the best edition is that of Leusden and Schaaf, 1709, 4to. reprinted in 1717. The edition of Gulbirius, and that of Leusden and Schaaf, have lexicons subjoined to them. The readings of the Peshito coincide most remarkably with those of the Vulgate; which seems to afford a conclusive argument in favour of the antiquity of both versions. It certainly was made before the fourth, and there are arguments to shew it was made at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. There are more modern Syriac versions of the New Testament, the principal of which is the *Philoxenian*, which made its appearance in the sixth century. Dr. Ridley wrote a treatise on it. Dr. White, whose Bampton Lectures have obtained the applause of every man of taste, and extorted the praise even of Mr. Gibbon, has published the whole of this version, with notes, at Oxford.

The most satisfactory information on the different Syriac versions is to be obtained from the following work: *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxenianæ et Hierosolymitanæ,*

denuo examinatæ, et ad fidem Codicum manuscriptorum in Bibliothecarum Vaticanæ, Anglicæ, Assemanianæ, Mediceæ, Regiæ, aliarumque, novis observationibus atque tabulis ære incisis illustratæ, a Jacobi Georgio Christiano Adler. Hafniæ, 1789, 4to.

XIII. 2. The *Cophtes*, according to Mr. Volney, are the descendants of that mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and, above all, Greeks, who, under the Ptolemies and Constantines, were long in possession of Egypt. In the disputes, which arose in the Church respecting the second person of the Trinity, the Nestorians maintained, that, as there were two natures, there must be two persons in Jesus Christ. Eutyches, falling into the opposite extreme, contended, that, as in Jesus Christ there was but one person, there consequently was but one nature. The council of Chalcedon condemned the doctrine of Eutyches: some of the Emperors persecuted, some were favourable to the Eutychians. Among the former were, Justin the IId, Tiberius, and Maurice: their attempts to destroy Eutychianism might have succeeded, if it had not been for a monk of the name of James, who, with unwearied industry and address, supported the cause of Eutychianism. Thus Egypt was divided into two parties. Those, who in imitation of the Emperor, submitted to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, were called Melchites or Royalists, from Melek, an Arabian word, that signifies king:

those who resisted the decrees of the council, were, from the leader of their party, called Jacobites. Afterwards, they were called Cophtes.—Some have supposed, that they obtained this name from the Saracens having shortened the word, Jacobites, into that word: but it is generally understood, that they derive it from the city Coptos in the Saide.—Except their errors respecting the second person of the blessed Trinity, little distinguishes them from the general body of Roman Catholics: but their aversion from the Roman Catholics is great, and they constantly brand them with the name of Nestorians. They are governed by a patriarch. He has under him eleven or twelve bishops, and several priests or deacons: his residence is at Grand Cairo. The monasteries of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and St. Macarius, are subject to him. The two first are in the Lower Thebaide; the last is in the desert of Sceté. A very interesting account is given by father Sicard, in the fifth volume of the new edition of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, of these celebrated monasteries. Several families of the Cophtes reside in the Delta; but the greatest part of them inhabit the Saide, or the part of Egypt extending from Cairo upwards to Assouan or Syene. In 639, the Cophtes invited the Saracens into Egypt: and, in return, were for some time treated kindly by them. But afterwards, the Saracens made no distinction between them and their other Greek subjects. About the end of the

fifth century of the Hegira, the Caliph Walid I. prohibited the Greek tongue throughout his whole empire. From that time the Cophtic, like the other languages of the nations subdued by the Saracens, ceased to be a spoken language: but it has been preserved in the Scriptures and books of devotion. Mr. Volney observes, that "the form of "the Cophtic letters, and the greater part of "their words, demonstrate, that the Greek na- "tion, during the thousand years it continued in "Egypt, has left deep marks of its power and "influence. But, on the other hand, the Cophtic "alphabet has five letters, and the language a "number of words, which may be considered as "the remains of the ancient Egyptian." Its last existence was among the rude peasants of the Nile. The hopes that valuable manuscripts might be discovered in some of the Cophtic monasteries, are not encouraged by the accounts given of these monasteries, by father Sicard.

The Cophtic version was printed with a Latin translation at Oxford, in 1716, by David Wilkins, properly Wilkie, a native of Memel in Prussia. He afterwards published an edition of the Pentateuch, in the same language, London, 1731. La Croze, *Thesaur. Epistol.* tom. iii. p. 154, says he was imperfectly acquainted with it. The editor of Ernesti's Institutio fixes its age at the fifth century: he says, that it contains several excellent readings, coinciding in general with those of the

Alexandrine fathers. The indefatigable industry of the moderns has discovered a version yet in manuscript, called the *Sahidic* version, from its being in the language of the nation which inhabits the Upper Egypt, or the part which lies between Cahera and Assevan, called in Arabic, Said. It is supposed by Dr. Woide to have been made in the second century. All the fragments of the version were prepared for the press, by the late Dr. Woide. They have been splendidly printed at the Clarendon press, under the care of Dr. Ford, with this title: *Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci, e codice MS. Alexandrino a Carolo Godofredo Woide descripti, in quâ continentur Fragmenta Novi Testamenti juxta interpretationem Dialecti superioris Ægypti, quæ Thebaica vel Sahidica appellatur, e codicibus Oxoniensibus maxima ex parte desumpta, cum Dissertatione de versione bibliorum Ægyptiaca, quibus subjicitur Codicis Vaticani Collatio. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano.* 1799.

XIII. 3. The first name, by which we know *Ethiopia* in history, is Lud. It is the name given to it by Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezechiel. About the time when the Israelites quitted Egypt, a nation of blacks, who dwelt on the banks of the Indus, and are called Chusites in the Old Testament, established a powerful empire in the African Lydia, and called it Æthiopia. Towards the end of the reign of Constantine the Great, they were

conquered by the Abyssinians, who came from the southern part of the Happy Arabia, and were called Homerites; Saba was the capital of the kingdom. The Queen, whom Solomon's wisdom attracted to Palestine, was sovereign of that country. They were converted to Christianity in the fourth century; and, towards the ninth, embraced the errors of Dioscorus, respecting the two natures of the second person of the blessed Trinity. The Æthiopic language, into which the translations of the Holy Writings were made, is the ancient language of Abyssinia, not the language now in use. The language, which it nearest resembles, is the Arabic; but from that, and all the kindred languages of the east, it differs, as it is written from the left to the right hand, and expresses the vowels by determinate characters, and not by points. The religion now established in the country is a mixture of Judaism, Christianity and Heathenish superstition.

An *Æthiopic* version was published at Rome, in 1548 and 1549, from a defective copy; that, from which the Æthiopic version in the London Polyglott was printed, was still more defective.

XIII. 4. *Armenia* is divided between the Turks and the Persians. The greater part of it belongs to the former. Erzerom is its capital. Erevan is the capital of the Persian part. The Armenian alphabet is not earlier than the fourth century. Miesrob, minister of state and secretary to Waras-

dates and Arsaces the IVth, kings of Armenia, and contemporaries with Theodosius the IId, invented it; and to him, the unanimous testimony of the Armenian writers ascribes the translation of their Scriptures. In the thirteenth century, the Churches of the Lesser Armenia and Cilicia submitted to the Pope: and Haitho, their king, became a Franciscan friar. He published a new edition of the Armenian Bible. It is asserted, that he made the ancient text conform throughout, to the Latin Vulgate. This is a point of the utmost importance, in Biblical criticism: but probably it will remain in uncertainty, till the discovery of a copy of the version prior to the time of Haitho. Should such a manuscript be discovered, and should there appear a general conformity between it and the Latan Vulgate, then, as the antiquity of the Armenian version would be unquestionable, and there is great reason to suppose it was executed with great care and skill, the value of each of the versions, and particularly that of the Latin Vulgate, will be considerably increased.

An *Armenian* version was printed at Amsterdam, in 1666, in quarto; an edition in octavo was printed there in 1668. The former includes both the Old and the New Testament; the latter contains the New Testament only. An edition in that language of the New Testament was published in duodecimo, in 1698.

XIII. 5. The language of the Arabs was, during

several ages, confined within the country: it was spread by the Mahometans over all the countries that were conquered by their arms; and thus, from the gulph of Arabia, it was spoken, as far as Portugal on the west, and Malacca on the east. It must be ranked among the most ancient languages; and excels all languages in copiousness. It is of the utmost use in Biblical criticism.

An *Arabic* version of the four Gospels was published at Rome in 1590—1591, in one volume folio. It was printed with a version of the remaining books of the New Testament, in the Paris and London Polyglotts. Erpenius published the Arabic New Testament at Leyden, in 1616, in one volume 4to. from a manuscript written in the Upper Egypt, in the year 1342. The Roman congregation *de propagandâ fide* published, in 1671, an Arabic and Latin Bible, under the inspection of Sergius Risius, bishop of Damascus, in three volumes folio. The English society for promoting Christian knowledge published, in 1727, in one volume 4to. an Arabic New Testament, for the use of the Christians in Asia. Ten thousand copies were printed of this edition. But none of these editions, nor any Arabic manuscript, that has yet been discovered, is of any importance in Biblical criticism, as no satisfactory evidence has yet been produced of their antiquity. The general opinion is, that none of them are earlier than the age of Mahomet.

XIII. 6. While the ancient empire of *Persia* subsisted, Persia had a language of her own. In the course of time it became successively subject to the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens, and the Turks; and each of them introduced some alterations into the language of the Persians. The modern language of Persia is a mixture of all these, together with a considerable portion of Gothic, or Teutonic, (Persæ fuerunt originitus Scythæ, says Ammianus Marcellinus, L. xxxi. 11.) but the Arabic and Turkish predominate. A *Persic* version of the four gospels is printed in the London Polyglott. A new translation of it was printed by Professor Bode at Helmstadt, in 1750—1751, with a Preface, containing historical and critical remarks on the Persic versions. Another Persic version was printed in London. It has two title pages, the one by Wheloc, dated 1652, the other by Piersone, dated 1657. These versions, more particularly the former, are thought to be translations from the Syriac, so that their chief use is in ascertaining the readings of that version. It is observable that, of the Old Testament, a Persic translation of the Pentateuch only is published in the London Polyglott.

XIII. 7. Ernesti in his Institutio says, that Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, translated the New Testament into the *Gothic* language, in the fourth century: and that this version is supposed to be the version of the Gospels, which was published

at Dordrect, with an excellent Glossary, in 1665, by Junius and Marschall; at Amsterdam, in 1684; by Stiernhielm, at Stockholm, in 1672, with a Glossary and with the Swedish and Icelandic versions; and at Oxford, in 1750, by Edward Lye. The last edition was prepared for the press by Benzel, archbishop of Upsal: but, as he died before the work could be sent to the press at Upsal, where it was to have been printed, the care of the impression was intrusted to Lye at Oxford.

The *Codex Argenteus*, in the public library of the university of Upsal, considered to be a thousand years old, is written on vellum: the letters are silver, except the initials, which are gold. It has been much doubted, whether the version should be called Gothic or Francic, and whether it was taken from the Greek or the Latin: but Michaelis seems to prove that it is a Gothic version, that it was taken immediately from the Greek; but that the translator had frequent recourse to the Latin.

For the history and illustration of this version, the following collection is recommended: *Joh. Ab. Ihre. Scripta versionem Ulphilanam Mæso-Gothicam illustrantia, ab ipso doctissimo auctore emendata, novisque accessionibus aucta, jam vero ob præstantiam et raritatem collecta, et una cum aliis scriptis, similis argumenti, edita ab. Ant. Irid. Busching. Berolini*, 1773, 4to. Some fragments of this version, discovered by Knittel in a *Codex rescriptus*, in the library at Wolfenbuttell, were

first published by him, at Brunswic, 1763, 4to. and afterwards republished by Ihre, with his own observations the same year, at Upsal, likewise in 4to. with the following title: *Fragmenta Versionis Ulphelanæ continentia particulas aliquot Epistolæ ad Romanos haud pridem ex codice rescripto Bibliothecæ Guelpherbetanæ a Fran. Ant. Knittell edita, nunc cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita a Johanne Ihre. Accedunt duæ dissertationes ad philologiam Mæso-Gothicam spectantes. Upsaliæ*, 1763, 4to.

XIII. 8. The *Russian* or *Slavonian* version was made from the Greek.

It is observable that, except the Arabians, no people has been so extensively diffused as the Slavonians; they have spread themselves over all the countries between the Adriatic and the Frozen Ocean, and from the Baltic, over the whole length of northern Asia, to America.

The most ancient copy of the whole Bible, in the Russian language, was written in the year 1499, in the time of the Grand Duke Wasiljewitch. But of the New Testament there are copies of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. A still more ancient manuscript of the New Testament was given by the Czar Iwan Wasiljewitch to Garabunda, secretary to the dutchy of Lithuania; it was written in the time of the Grand Duke Wlademir, who reigned from 972 to 1015. The oldest printed edition is that of Prague, in

1519. It has been since printed at Ostrog, in 1581; at Moscow, in 1663, 1751, 1756, 1757, 1766, in folio; in 1759, in large octavo; and at Kiow, in 1758, in folio. Accurate extracts from this version have been given by Professor Alter, in his edition of the Greek Testament, 8vo. Vienna, 1787: but the best account of this version is given by Debrowsky in Michaelis, *Oriental und exeget Biblioth. Th.* viii. pp. 155—167.

Concerning the Georgian Version, which was published at Moscow, in 1743, folio, the reader may consult a tract, *Uber die Georgianische Litteratur*, Vienna 1798, written by Professor Alter, who collated the version for Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint.

XIV.

To obtain an accurate notion of what is called THE LATIN VULGATE TRANSLATION of the Scriptures, (a term often used inaccurately, when it is not particularly explained), it is necessary to enquire into the nature of the Latin versions, made before the time of St. Jerom, particularly the version called the Vetus Italica, or Itala, existing probably before the middle of the second century, and to consider the different versions published by St. Jerom, as they came immediately from his hands, as they were corrupted in the middle ages, and as they have been corrected and promulgated by papal authority.

XIV. 1. Two passages in different parts of the works of St. Augustine clearly shew the nature of the *Vetus Italica*, and the other Latin versions, *prior to the time of St. Jerom.* In his treatise *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, lib. ii. cap. xi. St. Augustine says, "that the number of those, who had trans-"lated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the "Greek, might be computed; but that, the num-"ber of those, who had translated the Greek "into the Latin, could not. For immediately "upon the first introduction of Christianity, if a "person got possession of a Greek manuscript, "and thought he had any knowledge of the two "languages, he set about translating the Scrip-"tures." In another part of his works, Lib. ii. cap. xv. he says, "*in ipsis interpretationibus, Itala* "*cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior,* "*cum perspicuitate sententiæ.*" It should seem difficult to mistake the import of these expressions, yet they have given rise to much controversy. One side, with a view to rob the Vulgate of all pretension, even to a remote affinity with the translation pointed at by St. Augustine, in this place, has, in stern defiance of all manuscripts and all printed editions, proposed to read "illa" for "Itala;" and, (to make sense and grammar of the passage, of which the alteration in question, if it were to stand alone, would totally bereave it), to substitute "quæ" for "nam,"—an emendation, certainly not of the gentlest touch. The other side, to exalt

the Vulgate, has supposed it may be fairly inferred, from the passage in St. Augustine, that there was a version, which, having been first sanctioned by the Roman pontiff, was received by the whole Latin Church, and was generally used in the service of the Church. But this is carrying his words much beyond their natural import, as they certainly neither express nor imply more, than that there was a version called the Italic, and that in St. Augustine's opinion, it ought to be preferred to all the other Latin versions. The high terms of commendation, in which St. Augustine expresses himself of the Vetus Italica, have raised a general wish, that it should be discovered and published, particularly as it might materially assist in ascertaining the readings of the Antehexaplar Septuagint version. The first publication of the kind is that of *Flaminius Nobilius*, printed at Rome in 1588, in one volume folio, under the auspices of Sixtus Quintus. But, as this work, which was reprinted in the London Polyglott, was intended only to be a Latin translation of the Septuagint version, published in the preceding year by the same authority, and as therefore no more of the *Itala* was adopted than what agreed with that version, while the rest was either supplied by Flaminius Nobilius himself, or from the Vulgate, without any distinction of the respective parts, it can, with the exception of the notes only, be of little or no critical use. Of more value on this account are the editions of the Psalms,

according to this version, published by *Faber Stapulensis*, in his *Psalterium Quintuplex*, Paris, 1568, folio; by *Joseph Maria Carus*, Rome, 1683; by *Cardinal Thomasius*, 1697, also at Rome; and by *Blanchini*, with other Parts, in his *Prodromus*, and in his *Vindiciæ Canonicorum Scriptorum*, Rome, 1740, folio. In 1695, *Dom Martianay*, the learned editor of the works of St. Jerom, (the first volume of which contains the Psalms and Job, with Asterisks and Obeluses, according to this version), published at Paris, in octavo, what he supposed was the Vetus Italica of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and of St. James's Epistle. In 1743, *Peter Sabatier* published at Rheims, in three large volumes folio, his "*Biblio-*" *rum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ, seu* " *vetus Italica, et cæteræ quæcumque in codicibus* " *manuscriptis et antiquorum libris reperiri po-* " *tuerunt, quæ cum vulgatâ Latinâ et cum textu* " *Græco comparantur.*" Where in his manuscripts there were chasms, he supplied them from the Vulgate. He published a new edition of his work in 1749—1751.——The last publication of the kind is by Father Joseph Blanchini, an oratorian;—"*Evangelistarium quadruplex Latinæ* " *versionis antiquæ, seu veteris Italicæ, ex codi-* " *cibus manuscriptis aureis, argenteis, purpureis,* " *aliisque plusquam millenariæ antiquitatis, Romæ,* " 1748," two volumes large folio. It contains five, or rather four manuscripts of a Latin version.

In many places they differ; and Blanchini's arguments, that the differences are merely errors of the transcribers, are, by no means, conclusive. It seems generally believed, that they are four distinct versions. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by several learned dissertations, and curious plates. The various citations made in the Gospel by Christ, the Apostles and Evangelists, of passages in the Old Testament, are brought together, as they stand in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate and the old Italic, with a view of ascertaining the important and much contested point, whether Christ, the Apostles and the Evangelists, cited them from the Hebrew or the version of the Seventy. It was printed at the expence of the king of Portugal, at the instigation of Cardinal Corsini, and, till Dr. Kennicott's Collation appeared, was thought the most splendid work that had issued from the press, during the present century. It is most earnestly wished, that a new edition of this and Sabatier's work were published in such a form as would make the price of them more suitable to the generality of readers; and that, to the edition of Montfaucon's Hexapla, by Bahrdt, were added, as a supplemental volume, those which he has injudiciously omitted.—A Latin translation, perhaps anterior to that of St. Jerom, is published by Dr. Kipling, with the Codex Bezæ.

That this and the other translations we have mentioned, *may be* anterior to St. Jerom, all

allow; that any one of them is the Vetus Italica, no satisfactory evidence, no convincing argument, has yet been produced: but there is reason to suppose, that in the generality of these versions, there is more of the Vetus Italica, than of any other.

XIV. 2. The great multiplicity of versions, and the confusion which prevailed among them, were the motives which first urged St. JEROM *to his Biblical labours.* He began by correcting the Psalms; but the people at large, being accustomed to their old version, could not be induced to lay it aside, in favour of St. Jerom's. He therefore published another edition. In that, he made few alterations in the text itself, but shewed, by obeluses and asterisks, where it differed from the Septuagint, or the Hebrew. From this last edition, and the old Italic, is formed the Vulgate edition of the Psalms, which is now used in the Roman Catholic Church. St. Jerom's original correction of the Psalms never came into public use. On the same plan, on which he made that correction, he corrected the Proverbs of Solomon, the Ecclesiastes, the Canticum Canticorum, the book of Job and the Paralipomena. He afterwards undertook, and executed with the greatest applause, a complete version into Latin of all the Old Testament. He translated also the New Testament from the Greek into the Latin. This translation, made by St. Jerom, of the Old Testament from the

Hebrew, (including the books of Judith und Tobit, which he translated from the Chaldee), and of the New Testament from the Greek, is the origin or stock of our present Vulgate, except with respect to the Psalms; which, we have observed, rests on St. Jerom's second edition of the old translation. The genuine version of St. Jerom of the Old and New Testament, from a beautiful manuscript at Paris, was published there, in 1693, by Dom Martianay, and Dom Pouget, under the title, "*S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonens. Presbyteri Operum Tom. I. seu Divina Bibliotheca antehac inedita, complectens Translationes V. et N. Testamenti, cum ex Hebræis tum e Græcis fontibus derivatas, innumera quoque scholia marginalia antiquissimi Hebræi cujusdam scriptoris anonymi, Hebræas voces pressius exprimentis. Prodit e vetustissimis MSS. codicibus Gallicanis, Vaticanis, &c. Studio et labore Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri. Parisiis apud Ludov. Boulland* 1693, *fol.*" This version has been reprinted in the edition of the works of St. Jerom, by Dominic Vallarsi and Scipio Maffei, at Verona, 1734—1742, in 11 volumes, folio. St. Jerom's version had the fate of many considerable works of genius: it had warm advocates, particularly among the truly learned; and violent enemies, particularly among the ignorant. By degrees its merit was universally acknowledged, and it almost universally superseded every other version.—Such was the

Vulgate translation, as it came originally from the hands of St. Jerom.

XIV. 3. It did not escape the general fate of manuscripts *during the middle age*. Partly by the mistakes or errors of transcribers, partly by corrections made by unskilful persons, partly by alterations from the citations in the works of the fathers, and partly by insertions made in it by way of explanation, the text was exceedingly disfigured and corrupted in many places. One circumstance in particular introduced variations into every part of it. The old uncorrupted version was intermixed with it throughout. Cassiodorus, and after him Alcuin, used their utmost endeavours to restore the version to its pristine purity. The library of the College of Dominicans at Paris contained a manuscript copy of the Latin Bible, made in the thirteenth century, by some French religious of that order. It is comprised in four large volumes in folio, and is written on fine parchment, in the half Gothic letter. By a regulation of the general chapter of the order held in 1236, directions were given, that all the Bibles of the order should be corrected and made to conform to that copy: and at a general chapter, held in 1748, a transcript of it was ordered to be made by the Students in the noviciat. The labours of Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, in procuring correct copies, both of the Old and New Testament, are mentioned by Baronius, Cave, Dupin and Wetstein. At the

revival of letters, several persons of learning exerted themselves to procure a good edition of the Latin Vulgate. The chief editions of it published on this plan, are those of Robert Stephens, in 1540, 1545, and 1546; that of Hentenius, in 1547, accurately and elegantly reprinted at Frankfort on the Mayn, 1566, folio; and that of the Louvain Divines, 1573, in three volumes, both in octavo and duodecimo, reprinted in 1580, in quarto and octavo, with the addition of the valuable notes of Lucas Brugensis, by whom those editions were chiefly conducted.

XIV. 4. It was afterwards revised and promulgated by *papal authority*. The Council of Trent took the state of the versions into consideration. It declared the ancient and common edition should be considered the authentic edition; and that the Bible should be printed as correctly and as expeditiously as possible, principally according to the Ancient and Vulgate edition. In consequence of this, it was published by *Sixtus Quintus*, in 1590. He himself watched over the work with admirable attention and zeal; he perused every sheet, both before it was committed to the press, and after it was printed off. The principal persons employed in this edition were, Cardinal Caraffa, Flaminius Nobilius, Antonius Agellius, Petrus Morinus, and Angelus Rocca. But his edition scarcely made its appearance, before it was discovered to abound with errors. The copies therefore were called in, and

a new edition was printed by *Clement* the VIIIth, his immediate successor, in 1592; and afterwards, with some variations, in 1593. The difference between the two papal editions is considerable. Dr. James, in his celebrated *Bellum Papale*, reckons two thousand instances, in which they differ; Father Henry de Bukentop, a Recollet, made a similar collection, but denied the consequences which Dr. James professed to draw from the variations.—Lucas Brugensis has reckoned four thousand places, in which, in his opinion, the Bible of Clement the VIIIth may be thought to want correction. Cardinal Bellarmin, who had a principal part in the publication of the edition, praised his industry, and wrote to him, that those concerned in the work had not corrected it with the utmost accuracy, and that intentionally they had passed over many mistakes. "*Scias velim,*" says his eminence, "*Biblia vulgata non esse a nobis* "*accuratissime castigata: multa enim de indus-* "*triâ, justis de causis, pertransivimus.*" When it is examined critically, it evidently appears the work of several hands. A scrupulous adherence to the text is observable in most parts of it; but in some it is carried further than in others, and sometimes it apparently leads to barbarous expressions, and absolute solecisms; as *dominantur eorum—repletæ sunt nuptiæ discumbentium—videns quoniam* (for *quod*) *illusus esset a Magis—noluit consolari—benedixit eos—ubi erugo et tinea*

demoliunt—edunt, for *ediderunt fructus suos,—illuminare his, qui in tenebris,—nihil nos nocebit,—vapulabis multis.* Other accusations of soleeisms or barbarisms of a similar nature might be produced. Many of these expressions are defended by Father Filesacus, in his *Versio sacræ Scripturæ Latina Vulgata Defensa*, published at the end of Father Tournemine's edition of Menochius. At any rate they do not detract from its general merit. Not only Roman Catholics, but separatists from the Church of Rome, agree in its praise. It is universally allowed, that it does not suffer in a comparison with any other version. Dr. Mill, whose whole life was spent in the study of the manuscripts and printed editions of the original and the translations from it, professes the greatest esteem for the Vulgate, and, in his choice of readings, defers considerably to it. Grotius speaks of it highly; Walton and Bengel praise it much. In his *Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, Father Simon has pointed out its real merit. The Church of Rome treats it with the greatest veneration. Some divines have supposed it to be absolutely free from error, and that no one is at liberty to vary from it, in translation or exposition. This is going to an extreme: the Council of Trent, in pronouncing it to be authentic, did not pronounce it to be inspired or infallible: but, where the dogmas of faith or morals are concerned, the Council must be con-

sidered to have pronounced it to be inerrant. In this decision every Roman Catholic must acquiesce, as he receives the Scripture from the Church, under her authority, and with her interpretation. See *Natalis Alexander, de Vulgatâ Scripturæ versione, quæstio* 5, *utrum et quo sensu Vulgata editio sit authentica*; *et quæstio* 6, *de sphalmatis et mendis quæ, in Vulgatâ versione Latinâ Bibliorum jussu Clementis VIII. emendatâ, etiamnum supersunt, quæ ecclesiæ auctoritate corrigi possunt*; a note in Fabricy, *Titres primitifs*, T. II. p. 164. and Father Mariana's *Dissertatio pro editione Vulgatâ*, published by Father Tournemine at the end of his edition of Menochius, a treatise which clearly proves that our ancestors were further advanced in Biblical criticism than is generally thought. Some Roman Catholic and even Protestant writers of eminence have contended, that, considering the present state of the Greek text, the Vulgate expresses more of the true reading of the originals, or autographs of the sacred penmen, than any Greek edition that has yet appeared, or can now be framed.

Among the modern editions of the Vulgate, that printed by Didot, Paris, 1785, in four volumes octavo, is particularly recommended by the neatness of its typography.

XV.

We now come to THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

XV. 1. There are many *Anglo-Saxon* versions of different parts of the Old and New Testament. Of the Translation by the Archbishop Elfric, in the tenth century, we have,—of the Old Testament, the *Heptateuch*, published by Edmund Thwaites, at Oxford, 1699,—and, of the New Testament, the Gospels only, by Matthew Parker, London, 1571, 4to. These were reprinted by Franciscus Junius and Thomas Marshall, at Dordrect, with the Mæso-Gothic Version, 1665, 4to. reprinted at Amsterdam, 1684. As this Anglo-Saxon version is supposed by some to have been made from the Latin version in use before St. Jerom, it is highly valued by those who are curious after the readings of the Old Italic. But Professor Alter, (*Memorabil. VI. St. No. IX. and VIII. St. p.* 185), considers it to have been made from the Vulgate, as the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms, published by Spelman, certainly was. An imperfect account of the former of these versions is given in the following work; *A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament, written about the time of King Edgar, by* Adelfricus Abbas, *published by* William Lisle, London, 1623, 4to. which was afterwards reprinted with this title:—"*Diverse Antient Muniments, in the*

Saxon Tongue, written seven hundred years ago, 1638. It may be added, that Elfric's translation is so very loose as to make it difficult to collect any ancient readings from it.

XV. 2. The most ancient *English* translation is that of *Wickliff*. It was finished about the year 1367. It was revised by some of his followers. Both the original and the revised translation are still extant in manuscript: the printed copies of it are not uncommon. The manuscript copies of the latter are more rare than those of the former.

XV. 3. The principal *printed editions* are, 1st, those of *Tyndal* and *Coverdale*; 2d, the *Genevan Bible*, or the translations made by the English, who fled to Geneva, to avoid the persecutions of Queen Mary; 3d, the *Episcopal* translation, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, under the direction of Matthew Parker, the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury; 4th, *King James's Bible*: —it was printed in 1611, and is that, which is at present used in all the British dominions; the original copy, with the manuscript corrections, is in the Bodleian library; 5th, the English translations made by the *Roman Catholics*. The chief of these are, the *Rhemish Testament*, printed at Rheims in 1582. In the year 1589, Dr. Fulke, master of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, reprinted this translation, together with the Bishop's Bible, in two columns. It is a curious performance, and very much deserves the attention of those who

study the subjects in controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, particularly such as turn on Scriptural interpretation. The *Doway Bible* is printed in two volumes quarto, in 1609, 1610. It is said to be made from "the authentic Latin." A new edition of it was published in five volumes octavo, in 1750, by the late Dr. Challoner. Besides these, a translation in two volumes large octavo was published at Doway, in the year 1730, by Dr. Witham. It is enriched with useful and concise notes.

XVI.

It remains to observe a striking peculiarity of the Old and New Testament,—its division into CHAPTERS AND VERSES.

XVI. 1. The division of the Hebrew text into *chapters* was made by the Jews, in imitation of the division of the New Testament into chapters. But the chapters spoken of in this place must not be confounded with their Paraschioths or greater and less sections, into which, for the regular reading of it in the synagogue, they have divided the Pentateuch, a much more ancient division, and still retained in the rolls of the synagogue. Their division of the Old Testament into *verses*, was more ancient than the division of it into chapters, being probably of the same date as their invention of the vowel points. Much of the labour of the Masorites was consumed in calculating the verses,

and their literal peculiarities. Thus they discovered, that the verses in the book of Genesis amounted to 1534; that its middle verse was the fortieth of the twenty-seventh chapter; that the whole Bible contained twenty-three thousand two hundred and six verses; that the Pentateuch contains two verses, all the words of which end with a Mem; that three verses consist of eighty letters; that fourteen verses consist of three words; twenty-six, contain all the letters of the alphabet; one, contains all the final letters, &c. &c.

XVI. 2. The ancients divided the New Testament into two kinds of *chapters*. The τιτλοι, or larger portions, are written either in the upper or lower margin, and generally in red ink; the κεφαλαια, or small portions, are numbered on the side of the margin. They are clearly represented in Erasmus's edition, and in R. Stephens's edition of 1550. These chapters differ in different copies. The most celebrated, and one of the most ancient divisions, was that of Ammonius. From him it had the appellation of the *Ammonian sections*. Eusebius retained them, and adapted to them his ten canons or tables. But by the example and influence of Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro, the old division was entirely laid aside in the Latin Church, and in Latin manuscripts: Greek manuscripts continued to be written with the old divisions to the end of the fifteenth century; when that, in present use, was adopted. Robert Stephens was

the inventor of the *verses* into which the New Testament is now divided. The division into chapters is sometimes liable to objection; the division into verses is still more objectionable: but it is now too late to reject them. In most of the later editions of note, the text is continued, without any distinction of verses; but the verses are numbered in the margin.

XVI. 3. The *punctuation* of the Bible is a modern invention. In the ancient manuscripts no marks are found, except a point and a blank space. The comma was invented in the eighth century; the semicolon in the ninth; the other stops were discovered afterwards. The spirits and accents are said to have been introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium before the Christian æra; but, unless the Codd. Vaticanus and Covilianus be exceptions, they are found in no Greek manuscript written before the seventh century.

XVII.

It should now be considered, WHETHER THE VARIOUS READINGS OF THE SACRED TEXT HAVE ANY INFLUENCE ON ITS PURITY OR AUTHENTICITY, OR IN ANY MANNER AFFECT ITS CLAIM TO DIVINE INSPIRATION.—By the sacred text we do not here understand, the autograph or original manuscript, as it was written or dictated by the Holy Penman, but the general text of the manuscripts and printed copies of it, which are in our possession.

XVII. 1. To discuss this, *it is necessary to ascertain what are various readings*, and to form an exact notion of their nature and number.

A various reading, in the most extensive sense of that word, is every reading, which differs from the text adopted by the writer. In one sense it is impossible to say of any various reading, or of any class of various readings, that it is absolutely unimportant. For, though one person may think it unimportant, another may think it important: and though it may be of no value in comparison of the reading given in the text, it may have its weight in settling the value of the manuscript from which it is taken.

It frequently however happens, that, when a various reading is to be weighed against the received text, the value of it sinks to nothing.

1st, Such are the various readings which evidently and unquestionably appear owing to the mistake of the copyist, as the reading of Θαρα for Ζαρα, in Matt. ch. i. v. 3.

2dly, The same may be said of the various readings, which evidently and undeniably proceed from the copyist's wilfully departing from the text. They may be divided into those, which are designedly made for an improper purpose, as to impugn a truth acknowledged by the party himself; and those, which being well, but not wisely meant, may be said to proceed from honest bigotry.

To alter the text, with a bad design, is certainly

an heinous offence against religion and truth: no person, therefore, should be charged with it, unless on the strongest evidence. In the heat of controversy, the charge has often been made, and very seldom proved. Among other charges, which have been urged against the Jews, must be ranked that of falsifying the Hebrew text: but of this, St. Jerom, (*Comment. cap. VI. Isaiæ, operum Tom. III. col.* 64), and St. Augustine, (*de civit. Dei, lib. XV. cap. XIII. Oper. Tom. VIII. col.* 392), entirely acquit them. When the ancient fathers appear to accuse them of it, they will be found, generally speaking, to charge them with corrupting the Septuagint or wilfully mistranslating the text; but not to charge them with altering the text itself. This Tryphon in his dialogue with St. Justin, professes to consider as equally criminal, with adoring the Golden Calf, consecrating children to idols, making children pass through fire, or killing prophets.—Where the alteration is made from honest motives, as from a notion of altering the text for the sake of improving it, if the alteration be held out, by the person making it, as part of the exemplar, he is evidently guilty of deceit, and deserves at least, that censure, to which pious frauds are justly obnoxious. Such are the alterations made by transcribers for the purpose of evading an objection made to a fact or a sentiment expressed in the received text: as the alteration in almost all the manuscripts and printed texts, except

the Codex Cantabrigiensis, the Codex Cyprius, and the Vulgate of the οὐκ ἀναβαίνω, John vii. 8. into οὔπω ἀναβαίνω, to avoid the apparent contradiction objected to this passage by Porphyry and other adversaries of christianity. But, if the party himself confess the alteration, he may want discernment, yet he is free from criminality. Still further removed from criminality are those, who, transcribing a version of the text, avowedly alter it, in their transcript, from a notion that the substituted word more faithfully or happily expresses the original. Such, in the Hebrew manuscripts, has frequently been the substitution of the Ketibh for the Keri; and, in the Latin versions, the generality of the alterations made in them during the middle ages.

3dly, Equally insignificant are the differences which are found in the spelling of words, where custom allows of two modes of writing the same word. This remark applies particularly to Hebrew manuscripts; where the vowel, diacritic, tonic and extraordinary points and the quiescent letters may often be inserted or omitted, at the writer's pleasure, without affecting even the pronunciation of the word: or, at least, without affecting more than its pronunciation.

4thly, As unimportant are the various readings, produced from translations, where the words of the translation differ only in form,—(as *Gjesmani* in the Persic version for Γεθσημανῆ), or differ only

in figure, (as *consumasset* in the Vulgate for ἐτέλεσε); or differ only in idiom, as the oriental rendering of Ταρσεὺς, by *qui est ex Tarso*, and the Vulgate translation of ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγαλου by a *minimo usque ad maximum*, Act. viii. 10. None of these instances prove a various reading in the text from which the translation is made.

5thly, As unimportant, in the same light, are the differences from the received text, which are found in the passages cited by the fathers, where they are evidently guilty of mistake; or where they evidently profess to express the meaning, and not to give the words of the sentence; or where there are grounds to suppose they do not cite with accuracy or from a valuable manuscript. Where there is ground to suppose that they cite with accuracy, and from a valuable manuscript, they are of the very highest authority. This was pointedly urged by Bossuet against Simon, and is placed beyond controversy by Griesbach.

From the general mass of various readings, we must, therefore, subtract those which are included in the classes above mentioned: and thus a very considerable deduction must be made from their supposed number.

XVII. 2. The question then is, which of the remaining number of various readings are important; and what is their comparative importance. Here several observations occur.

1st, A large proportion of these remaining

various readings arises from the mere transposition of words; and the greatest part, by far, of these transpositions do not, in any respect, alter the sense. The same may be said of a vast share of those various readings, which arise from the omission or insertion of words.

2dly, In other instances, however, and those considerable in number, the difference of reading has some influence on the sense of the text. But, most commonly, this is in respect to those readers only, who are versed in style and the synonymy of words, and who are sensible of every light and shade of expression. With the generality of readers, the difference we speak of neither excites a sentiment nor raises an idea, which the received text, however erroneous in the given instances, does not equally produce. As to those readers, therefore, (and they evidently form the general mass of mankind), the various readings last spoken of are of no consequence.

3dly, Of the ultimate remainder of various readings, some unquestionably are important. Thus, where in St. Matthew xxvii. 35. the Sixtine edition reads, "*Diviserunt vestimenta ejus sortem mit-* "*tentes. Et sedentes servabant eum*;" the Clementine edition reads, "*Diviserunt vestimenta* "*ejus, sortem mittentes, ut impleretur quod dic-* "*tum est per prophetam dicentem, Diviserunt* "*sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem meam mi-* "*serunt sortem.*" A difference, at least equally

striking, is observable in that text of frequent use, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax homi-*"*nibus bonæ voluntatis.*" As a discussion of the various readings of this celebrated verse may give the reader a notion of that part of Biblical criticism, which turns on the various readings of the text, we shall attempt something of the kind in this place.

The *Textus receptus*, as it is called, or the text of the common editions of the Greek Testament, is printed thus, "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς "εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία." This rendered into Latin, gives, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in* "*terra pax in hominibus*" (or rather, *apud homines*) *bona voluntas.*" Another reading is that adopted in the edition of the Latin Vulgate, "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη ἀνθρώποις "εὐδοκίας." "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in* "*terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*" A third reading is produced by an alteration of the punctuation; omitting the comma after "*Deo,*" and placing it after "*Terra:*" the sentence will then stand, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra, pax* "*hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*" Thus there are, at least, three readings of this important text; to these must be added the reading in the Roman Liturgy, and some Latin manuscripts, of "*excelsis*" for "*altissimis:*" but this is evidently a different version of the same word, and therefore does not affect the text. In each reading the sentence is most beautiful; in each, it is such as angels might

sing, and heaven and earth rejoice to hear: but the sense of each is different. Now every person, to whom the Sacred Oracles are dear, must wish to have the true reading of the sentence, or the very words written by the Evangelist himself, ascertained.

To come at this, it must be observed, that the chief variations lie in the omission of the "ἐν" before "ἀνθρώποις," and in the case of the last word, whether it should be read "εὐδοκία" in the nominative, or εὐδοκίας in the genitive: to these, the following observations are confined.

With respect to the preposition "ἐν," there can be no doubt, that the insertion of it is the genuine reading. There scarcely is an authority, worth mentioning, in favour of the omission. Erasmus says, that he saw one Greek manuscript, in which it was omitted; but neither Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, Alter, nor any other collator, has discovered a single manuscript in which it is omitted. Therefore, supposing that Erasmus was not mistaken, and that a Greek manuscript, which he saw, really omitted the preposition "ἐν" before "ἀνθρώποις," it is evident, that the omission is to be ascribed, either to an oversight in the transcriber, or, if it were a very modern Greek manuscript, to a designed alteration, out of respect for the Vulgate. But, in neither supposition can the variation be opposed to the united evidence of the Greek manuscripts: between four and five hundred of them have been collated, and, without

an exception, it has been found in them all. Besides, the manuscript evidence referred to by Erasmus is anonymous, as we know nothing of the manuscript, in which he professes to have observed the omission. Further, though in the modern printed Vulgate, the preposition "*in*" before "*hominibus*" is omitted; yet, in several of the ancient Latin manuscripts, which are entitled to very high respect, the preposition is retained, as it is in the Greek manuscripts. Thus the Codex Bezæ has "*in hominibus*" in the text, as well as "ἐν ἀνθρώποις" in the Greek. The same reading is found in the Codex S. Germanensis, quoted by Sabatier; in the Codex Forojuliensis, quoted by Blanchini; and the Codex Harleianus, quoted by Griesbach. St. Jerom also, as appears from Sabatier's note to the passage, quotes in one instance, "*hominibus*," with the preposition before it.—The conclusion is, that the true reading is to insert the preposition, the weight of authority being wholly on the side of its insertion.

The next and more important difficulty is, to ascertain, whether the text should contain "εὐδοκία" with the Greek, or "εὐδοκίας" with the Latin. Here the question is of a nicer kind, there being in this instance, a much nearer approach to a balance of authorities. All the modern printed texts of the Vulgate, the most ancient Latin manuscripts, and, speaking generally, all the Latin fathers have "*bonæ voluntatis*," not "*bona voluntas*;" εὐδοκίας in the genitive is likewise the

reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codex Bezæ. On the other hand, in all the rest of the Greek manuscripts, not excepting the Codex Vaticanus, we find "εὐδοκία" in the nominative. Εὐδοκία likewise is quoted by Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and almost all the other Greek writers, who have cited the passage. Origen especially, an evidence of the highest authority, has quoted the passage three times, with "εὐδοκία" in the nominative. The conclusion is, that "εὐδοκία" is the more ancient and the genuine reading. The very utmost that can be said in favour of "εὐδοκίας" is, that it was a very early alteration in some Greek manuscripts.

This also decides the punctuation of the text; the nominative Greek being established to be the true reading, the sense requires, that the commas should be after "Θεῷ," and "εἰρήνη," and with this the common punctuation accords. Thus the genuine reading of this most important text clearly is,

IN THE GREEK,

"Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν "ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία."

IN THE LATIN,

"*Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax, in* "*hominibus* (or rather, *apud homines*) *bona* "*voluntas.*"

XVII. 3. Such then is the number and importance of the various readings; the next enquiry is, *whether they affect the authenticity of the sacred writings?* Far from affording an argument against it, they depose in its favour. Considering the distance of time, and the fortunes and fates of the languages, in which the Old and New Testament were written, nothing but a miracle could have made the state of the text different from what it is. If the various readings did not exist, if they were fewer in number, if they were different in their nature from what they are, the infidel would urge this as an argument against the authenticity of the text, and would call on the Christian for proof of the miracle, to which the sacred text owed its wonderful integrity, in defiance of the universal and unvarying effects of time on every other text. As it is, the Christian has no such argument to answer; and whatever may be the state of the text, no argument can be drawn from it, against his faith. Be the text as faulty as it can be represented, every text contains the same laws, the same miracles, the same prophecies, the same chain of history, the same doctrine: every text equally shews, that the Law came before the Gospel, the Prophets before the Messiah, that the Redeemer was expected, came, taught, suffered and died; that he established his Church, sent her the Comforter, and promised to preserve her in spirit and truth, to the end of time. Instead of discussing

with the infidel the number of the various readings of the sacred text, or the consequences deducible from them, let him be called upon to say, whether, in the whole system of Christian history, Christian doctrine, or Christian morals, contained in the Scriptures, there be a single article necessary or profitable to be known, to be believed, or to be practised, which is found in one text, and is not found in another. Till this be shewn, Christianity itself is not concerned in the various readings of the Scripture: the state of the text may be a subject of discussion, but will rather be a literary, than a religious enquiry.

But if, even in the degree admitted, the text be imperfect, it may be asked, what becomes of the generally received opinion of its inspiration. To this it may be shortly replied, that the supposed imperfection does not affect the text, so far as it is the Christian's rule of faith, or the rule of his conduct, or so far as it contains the history of his Redeemer.

It does not therefore prove, that the text was not divinely inspired; it proves only, that, as to individual words, it was not miraculously preserved. But, to dwell for some time on this important topic, without making it the subject of a regular discussion,—and premising, that the inspiration here asserted for the sacred penmen, (without denying it to them in a higher degree), is that interposition only of the Holy Spirit, which may

be supposed to have moved them to write what the Gospel contains of knowledge necessary or profitable to salvation; and, when writing it, to have preserved them from error; it may be observed, that, as the natural powers of man could not lead to the discovery of the sublime truths of Christianity, there seems some ground to conclude, that his natural powers were not sufficient to record these truths with accuracy; and that, when the salvation of generations for ages, was, by the will of Providence, made to depend on the belief of certain facts, and the practice of certain duties, there seems ground to infer, that Providence would exempt, even from a possibility of error, the record of that saving knowledge. It is said, that the truths of Christianity though most beautiful and sublime, are simple and few, and might, therefore, easily be remembered and committed to writing. But this must be understood with some qualification. Christianity does not wholly rest on its doctrine; it is intimately connected with many other circumstances, particularly the character of the Divine Teacher. Is it not probable, that, in the numberless actions and discourses recorded of our Saviour, in the Gospels and Acts, the fisherman, if left to himself, would have recorded something so incongruous, as would have thrown a suspicion on the whole character of Christ, and made the whole of his doctrines questionable? In this point of view, the writing appears to be above

the natural powers of the writer, and to prove the existence of inspiration from its necessity.

It may also be proper to bring to recollection the commission given by Christ to his Apostles, to preach and teach the Gospel to all the nations of the earth; and his promises, that the Spirit of truth, the Teacher, the Paraclete, should abide with them, should dwell in them, and be in them, should teach them all truth, should testify of Christ through them, should convince the world through them, and should bring to their remembrance whatsoever he had said to them. Now, did not this commission extend to preaching and teaching by writing, as much as to preaching and teaching by word of mouth? Was the Spirit of truth to influence their writing less than their discourse?—To this must be added, the effusion of the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost.

Christ assured his Apostles, that, when they should be delivered up, it should be given them, what they should speak. He adds, "It is not ye "that speak, but the spirit of your Father, which "speaks in you." Now, is it probable, that inspiration should be promised them in circumstances, when they were rather advocates for themselves, than ministers of the word of God, and that it should be denied them, when, in the execution of their divine commission, they preached the new covenant, the life, the death, the resurrection of Christ, in sounds that were to go forth into all the

earth, in words that were to be heard in the ends of the world? Ps. xix. 4.

Accordingly we find, that the Apostles speak of themselves as inspired. St. Peter says of them in general, 1 Ep. i. 12. "That they preached the "Gospel, which the Holy Ghost sent down from "heaven, which things the angels desire to look "into." St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 13. says, "We "speak not in the words which man's wisdom "teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Citations might be multiplied; but there are two texts which deserve particular attention. St. Peter in the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of his second Epistle, mentioning St. Paul's Epistles, says of them, "There are some things "hard to be understood, which they that are "unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also "the other Scriptures, unto their own destruc-"tion." The other passage is, the celebrated verse in St. Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, iii. 16. The Vulgate translation of it is, "*Omnis Scrip-*"*tura, divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum,* "*ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudien-*"*dum in justitia.*" Now, it should be observed, that the word Scripture, standing singly, without any thing to direct its import, is always used in the New Testament to denote the Old, as in Matt. xxii. 29. John v. 39. x. 35. It certainly denotes the Old Testament, in the passage cited from St. Paul: this is clear, not only from its general import, but from its connexion with the verse

immediately preceding, where St. Paul observes to Timothy, that "from a child he had known the "holy Scriptures." The passage, therefore, refers to the Jewish Scriptures. The word "*est*" is added to the Greek; and, upon that account, objections have been made to the insertion of it in the Vulgate. At all events, though it be not expressed, the idiom of the language requires that it should be understood in some part of the text; and it must necessarily be understood to apply to both the words "*inspirata*" and "*utilis*," or to the word "*utilis*" only. If it be applied to both, it amounts to an express assertion of the Apostle, that the Scripture is both divinely inspired and useful for the purposes he mentions: if it be applied to the "*utilis*" only, then the assertive part of the sentence is confined to the "*utilis*," and the "*divinitus inspirata*" is an epithet. Thus considered, it is only descriptive: but, in either mode of contruction, the sentence equally predicates of the Old Testament, that it was divinely inspired. Supposing a dispute to arise in future times, on the late form of the Venetian government, a sentence in a writer of the present times expressing, that the form of the government of Venice was aristocratic and oppressive, and a sentence expressing, that the aristocratic form of the government of Venice was oppressive, would shew, that, in the writer's opinion, the form of the government of Venice was aristocratic: each sentence would

equally predicate the author's opinion. Thus then we have the clear testimony of St. Paul, that the Old Testament was inspired; and a clear testimony of St. Peter, that the Epistles of St. Paul are on a level with the Old Testament, and form a part of those writings which he calls the Scriptures, or, as we term them, the Bible: "*those*," he says, "*that are unlearned and unstable, wrest his* "*Epistles, as they do all the other Scriptures.*" 2 Peter iii. 16.

If we consult tradition we shall find, that whatever disagreement has unfortunately prevailed among Christians in other respects, it may perhaps be asserted, that it was not till the latest doctrines gained ground, and even not till the extreme consequences of those doctrines were avowed, that the inspiration of the Scriptures was wholly and unqualifiedly denied. It is true, that there was some difference of opinion with respect to the extent and mode of inspiration. Some understood, that it extended both to ideas and to words: this appears to have been the prevailing opinion, till the ninth century, when Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons, maintained that it was confined to ideas. In this he was followed by Luther, Beza, and Salmasius: but all agreed, that inspiration extended to all expressions and words which were important. Thus far the difference has been thought immaterial. Some, as in our days Bishop Warburton, Bishop Law and Dr. Doddridge, explained inspiration, as if, in the

strict sense of the word, it extended to particular cases only; but they allowed, that the sacred penmen had every where the divine assistance, so far as to be prevented from material error. This, in substance, is admitting the general doctrine of inspiration. The Arminians denied inspiration to the historical parts of the Scriptures: some of them were led into this error by confounding revelation and inspiration, which are very different: and most of them refused inspiration to no part of the Scripture, that could be important to faith, morals, or knowledge. To deny it absolutely, and thereby to reduce the sacred writings to common history, was, with a few exceptions, reserved to our times. If there be a doctrine to which the "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus,*" is applicable, it is the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testament.

But, to return to the subject of this enquiry:—to give the text in its utmost purity, has been the object of the editions and publications we have mentioned, and of many others. An Englishman must view with pleasure the useful and magnificent exertions of his countrymen in this respect. Bishop Walton's Polyglott ranks first in that noble and costly class of publications; foreign countries can shew nothing equal to Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Bible, or similar either to Dr. Woide's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, or Dr. Kipling's edition of the Codex Bezæ: and, in the whole republic of letters, nothing is now so impatiently

expected, as the completion of Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint.

Yet, useful and magnificent as these exertions have been, an edition of the New Testament has lately appeared in this country, which, in one point of view, eclipses them all. It has been our lot to be witnesses of the most tremendous revolution that Christian Europe has known: a new race of enemies to the Christian religion has arisen, and shaken every throne, and struck at every altar, from the Atlantic to the Don. One of their first enormities was, the murder of a large proportion of their clergy, and the banishment of almost the whole of the remaining part. Some thousands of those respectable exiles found refuge in England. A private subscription of 33,775*l.* 15*s.* 9½*d.* was immediately made for them. When it was exhausted, a second was collected, under the auspices of his Majesty, and produced 41,304*l.* 12*s.* 6¼*d.* Nor is it too much to say, that the beneficence of individuals, whose charities on this occasion were known to God alone, raised for the sufferers a sum much exceeding the amount of the larger of the two subscriptions. When, at length, the wants of the sufferers exceeded the measure of private charity, Government took them under its protection; and, though engaged in a war, exceeding all former wars in expence, appropriated, with the approbation of the whole kingdom, a monthly allowance of about 8,000*l.* for their support; an

instance of splendid munificence and systematic liberality, of which the annals of the world do not furnish another example. The management of the contributions was entrusted to a committee, of whom Mr. Wilmot, then one of the members of Parliament for the city of Coventry, was president: on him the burthen of the trust almost wholly fell; and his humanity, judgment, and perseverance in the discharge of it, did honour to himself and his country.

It should be observed, that the contributions we have mentioned are exclusive of those which were granted for the relief of the Lay Emigrants.

So suddenly had the unhappy sufferers been driven from their country, that few had brought with them any of those books of religion or devotion, which their clerical character and habits of prayer had made the companions of their past life, and which were to become almost the chief comfort of their future years. To relieve them from this misfortune, the University of Oxford, at her sole expence, printed for them, at the Clarendon Press, two thousand copies of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, from an edition of Barbou; but this number not being deemed sufficient to satisfy their demand, two thousand more copies were added, at the expence of the Marquis of Buckingham. Few will forget the piety, the blameless demeanor, the long patient suffering of these respectable men. Thrown on a sudden into a foreign

country, differing from theirs in religion, language, manners and habits, the uniform tenor of their pious and unoffending lives procured them universal respect and good will. The country that received them has been favoured. In the midst of the public and private calamity, which almost every other nation has experienced, Providence has crowned *her* with glory and honour; peace has dwelt in her palaces, plenty within her walls; every climate has been tributary to her commerce, every sea has been witness of her victories.

To proceed: the German literati have also distinguished themselves by their Biblical labours. Numberless are the works replete with learning and criticism, which they have produced, on every subject of Biblical literature; but it is greatly to be lamented, that they have not always carried into their researches, that *fear, which is the beginning of wisdom*, and that moderation and respect, with which holy subjects, and particularly the word of God, should be treated. From its being proved, that the sacred text is not free from imperfection, it does not follow, that it is generally corrupt: and the notion of the absolute integrity of the text may be an ill founded prejudice, and the text, at the same time, may be generally pure. But it is the nature of man to rush from one extreme to another. A particular opinion for a time prevails universally. It is believed to be so well founded, and to be of so much importance, as to make it

thought a folly, and even a crime, to call it in question. At length it appears open to objection; objections are made to it; they are found to be unanswerable. Then, without examining whether the opinion be erroneous in the whole, or only in a degree, an absolute and unqualified anathema is pronounced upon it, and adventurers in literature from that time never think they are so much in the right, as when they are furthest removed from what a few years before they themselves would have been the first to deify. Thus they change one extreme of error for another, and get as much beyond, as till then they had been behind, that happy medium, where truth and wisdom lie. Thus, at one period of history, we read with astonishment of the bigotry and barbarism, that mutilated the statues, and burned or proscribed the writings, of Greece and Rome. Taste and science arrive; we welcome them: but classical enthusiasm supervenes; and then, in a few years, we read with equal surprise, and at least with equal disgust, of a Christian and a Cardinal, who adjures the Venetians "*per Deos immortales*" and the "*Deam Lauretanam*;" of the Stoic Lipsius, who latinises Providence into *Fatum*; and of a party of still more classical fanatics, who renew the sacrifices of Paganism in their bacchanals. Similar to this has been the abuse of sacred criticism. The superstitious belief of the absolute integrity of the sacred text was discarded, from its

being shewn to contain some errors, to have some imperfections. Here the inference should have rested. But from this time, on the continent particularly, sacred criticism has frequently run wild. Every error of every copyist has sometimes been called a mistake; every mistake has been produced as a various reading; every various reading has been thought a discovery; every such discovery has been held out as important; conjecture has been cherished; and thus, more liberty has been taken with the sacred writings than a sober critic would use in regard to the writings of Horace or Ovid.

Of this propensity to adopt extreme opinions, the country we are speaking of has lately produced some singular examples; and of these, (it is hoped the digression will be excused), the denial of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, is not the least remarkable. From the united experience of the wisdom of all ages, certain canons of criticism have been laid down, which are admitted by all men of sense and knowledge. One of these is, that a combination of circumstances *may* attend a work, which places its authenticity beyond argument, and that such a combination of circumstances *does* in fact attend some writings of antiquity. This being allowed, let the writers alluded to be desired to point out any one of those works, the authenticity of which is universally allowed, and to shew what argument can be urged for its authen-

ticity, which cannot be urged for the authenticity of the Pentateuch: and, if an objection may be made to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, whether an objection of at least equal force may not be made to the work, whose authenticity they admit. They probably allow the authenticity of the Koran; yet nothing can be said for the authenticity of the Koran, that cannot be said equally for the authenticity of the Pentateuch. But, besides these general arguments, there are particular proofs of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, which can be produced for no other work. The first is, the religious veneration of the Jews themselves for it. They considered it far other than a mere history, or a work of literature. In every age, in every revolution of their fortune, they held it to be the very word of God. It was read in their temple, expounded in their synagogues; they made it their daily and nightly meditation; they thought it a sacrilege to alter a word of it; and, when called upon, they were ready to die for its integrity. A second argument, peculiar to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, arises from what we know of the scrupulous, not to say superstitious reverence, which the Jews have both for its preservation and integrity; from what we know of their Massora, of their vowel points, of their fanciful ceremonial in transcribing the synagogic rolls. Nothing of the kind was ever practised or thought of in respect to any profane author. A third argument is the

internal evidence, which the sacred writings themselves contain, of their authenticity. Christ, his Apostles and Evangelists, every where recognize the books of Moses: at an earlier period they are recognized by Esdras; they are expressed in the genuine language of the Jews; they were therefore written before the captivity: they are acknowledged by the Samaritans; they were therefore written before the division of Israel and Judah: this leads to the Judges and Joshua, and the Judges and Joshua refer to them. Why did not Josephus advert to other books? "We have twenty-two books," says that author, "which are justly styled divine. "In what veneration we hold them, appears from "this fact, that in the course of so many ages, no "person has dared to add to them, to take from "them, or to alter them. On the contrary, it is "the innate belief of every Jew, that they are the "precepts of God himself, that he should con-"stantly adhere to them, and willingly, if it "should be necessary, suffer death for them: a "principle implanted in him at the moment of "his birth, πᾶσι δὲ ξύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης "γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις, τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, "καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν "ἡδέως." Adv. App. I. 8.—Why did the Seventy translate the books we have, and no other? To this may be added, that the Pentateuch was never imputed to any other author than Moses; and the presumptions in favour of its authenticity from the

simplicity of its style; from the expressions, which at the distance of Solomon's reign became antiquated; from the Egyptian words used by Moses in consequence of his being educated in Egypt, expressed by Joshua, as a native Jew, in pure Hebrew; the nature of the narrative:—but to conclude, let all the writings of all the writers of antiquity be numbered up, not one of them can be mentioned, whose authenticity can be supported by so much proof, or is liable to such little objection. The paradoxes of Father Hardouin have been justly derided; it is, at least, as easy to confute those of which we have been speaking. In the mean time, let it not be thought that this is the general language of the German Literati: many of them express the greatest concern for the laxity of criticism, in which some of their countrymen have indulged themselves on these subjects. "The improved state of religion and learning "among Protestants," (says Schmidius, the Rector of the University of Wirtembergh, in his *Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio Canonis*, Lips. 1775, Prol. C. I. §. x. xix.) "has not prevented many adver- "saries of great erudition and ingenuity, from "starting up, and availing themselves of some "inconsiderate and injudicious positions of their "predecessors, to attack the doctrines and authen- "ticity of the sacred writings. They find the "mysteries, the miracles, and the early history of "the Jews, a troublesome speculation, and there-

" fore pronounce them incredible. On this ground,
" they have affected to call in question the his-
" torical certainty and antiquity of the books of
" the Old Testament; and to consider the divine
" mysteries and early history of the Jews, as fables
" on a level with those in the mythology of the
" general nations of the earth. At length they
" have proceeded so far as to deny all revelation,
" and to refer every thing to philosophy, and the
" religion of nature. In judging of the code of
" the New Testament, they refuse to admit the
" truth and authority of the Church. To establish
" their private opinions, they set on foot new
" modes of argument. They quarrel with our
" code of the New Testament, and exert all their
" knowledge of history, and all their skill in cri-
" ticism, to ruin, or at least to weaken, the
" authority of the sacred writings. To illustrate
" their hypotheses, they appear to support them-
" selves by history: but the truth is, that their
" religious opinions on the subject are unsound.
" All their arguments tend to establish this po-
" sition, that revealed religion is a game played
" by the clergy, and that all of it, but its morality,
" should be rejected. Whatever may be their
" intention, it is demonstrable, that all they have
" done hitherto, is to pervert ecclesiastical history,
" and to blind the ignorant. Most wisely do the
" Roman and Protestant churches retain the code
" of the New Testament. The uninterrupted

" piety of seventeen centuries has preserved and " reverenced it, and divine Providence has kept it " entire, and free from corruption, down to our " times. *Recte igitur Romana et Protestantium* " *ecclesia codicem Novi Testamenti retinet, quem* " *constans XVII seculorum pietas diligenter ser-* " *vavit, et coluit; divinaque Providentia inte-* " *grum, et ab interpolationibus liberum, usque* " *ad nostra tempora, propagavit.*"

In this, therefore, as in every other instance, where the word of God is concerned, the greatest moderation should be used; and care should be taken, that the assertions made, are expressed accurately, and in such terms as prevent improper conclusions being drawn from them. Where the number of the various readings is mentioned before persons, to whom the subject is new, or in any work likely to have a general circulation, it should be added, that their importance is rather of a literary than a religious kind; and that, whether considered collectively or individually, they do not affect the genuineness of the text, or the substance of its history or doctrine. The improvements, which proposed alterations are thought to make, should not be exaggerated; it should be remarked, that alterations of that description are confessedly few; and that none of them affect the Gospel as a history, as a rule of faith, or as a body of morality. Conjectural emendations should almost always be resisted. If there ever were a person, by his

learning qualified, and by the boldness of his criticism disposed to alter from conjecture only, it was Wetstein; yet he thus expresses himself: "Licet plerasque omnes quas vidi, et in V. L. "exposui, conjecturas doctas et ingeniosas existi- "mem, neque proinde studium cujusquam vitu- "perem; ingenue tamen fateor ex omnibus illis "vix unam aut alteram sese mihi probari utcunque "potuisse." Thus guarded and restrained, there is no doubt, that verbal criticism on the sacred text may be made useful to religion.

Still, while it is contended, that the multitude of various readings does not affect the authority or authenticity of the Scripture, and while the abuse of the criticism of the sacred text is deprecated, it will be falling into the opposite extreme, to suppose, that the various readings are of such little moment, as to make the labour bestowed in collecting them, and weighing their comparative merit, an useless and vain employment. But here, unless a very extensive discussion of the subject is instituted, it must be confined to an appeal to persons acquainted with the nature and value of the editions of the classics. Such persons must immediately see, that on the one hand the various readings of the sacred text do not, in any respect, impeach its divine authority or authenticity; and that, on the other, those deserve highly of the Christian world, who, with due advantages of natural and acquired endowments, and with due

attention and modesty, exert themselves in collecting various readings, or in any other Biblical pursuit, that tends to advance the literal purity of the text.

How great is the space between the edition of Tacitus by Lipsius, (to go back no further), and the edition of the same author by Brotier? Yet in each the history is the same. Each informs the reader of the dark policy of Tiberius, of the arts of Sejanus, of the imbecility of Claudius, the cruelty of Nero, the grandeur of Otho in his last moments: from each the reader learns, that, by the election of Vitellius in Germany, the fatal secret of the empire was disclosed, that an emperor might be chosen out of Rome. Yet surely the scholar reads all this with infinitely less pleasure in Lipsius than in Brotier. Such being the comparative merit of a perfect and an imperfect edition, and the connexion between the sacred writings and sacred literature being so great, every person, to whom the sacred writings are dear, must wish them edited in the most perfect manner. It would reflect disgrace on the learned of the Christian world, that any one Pagan author should be published in a more perfect manner than the Word of God.

XVIII.

It remains to give SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORS, OF WHOSE LABOURS THE WRITER

HAS AVAILED HIMSELF IN THIS COMPILATION. He must first mention *Michaelis*, whose *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, translated by the Rev. Herbert Marsh*, was of the greatest service to him in every part of his labours. Judgment, extent of learning, and moderation, except where Wetstein is spoken of, are discernible in the original: equal judgment, learning, and moderation, are discernible in the copious notes added in the translation. It is to be wished, that the public were in possession of a good account of the literary life of Michaelis; his translator, perhaps, will confer that additional favour on them. After Michaelis must be mentioned the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of *Father Le Long*, the Oratorian, and librarian of the house of that order, in the street of St. Honoré at Paris. The best edition of it was published at Halle, in six volumes 4to. 1778—1790, by Masch. The editor has inserted in it an account of Le Long's life and writings, and several dissertations of his own, on various subjects of Biblical literature. The *Titres Primitifs* of *Fabricy* must also be mentioned; a work replete with learning. It inclines to the old opinions; the author shews himself a zealous and able advocate for them; and, in every part of his work, studiously endeavours to excite the warmest sentiments of religious respect for the sacred writings, and every topic of sacred literature connected with them. But both Fabricy and Masch appear to

carry their notions of the integrity of the text to an extreme, and to be unjust to the merit of Dr. Kennicott's labours. The author must also mention his obligations to the writings of *Father Simon*, whose Biblical erudition was far beyond that of his age. In some respects, he was the first adventurer in that career of learning; his progress in it was surprising: but in certain instances, his bold opinions and want of exactness subjected him to reproach. There scarcely is a description of Schoolmen or Sectaries, whom, by attacking their favourite opinions, he did not make his enemy. The Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Thomists, the Jansenists, the Calvinists, the Lutherans, the Oratorians, to whom he once belonged, and whom he quitted, saying,

Alterius ne sit qui suus esse potest!

Even Bossuet and Le Clerc, who agreed in nothing else, united against Simon. But it is a justice due to him, that those who are inclined to accuse him of Socinianism, should peruse his apologies, before they make the charge.—A general mention must also be made in this place, of *Calmet's Dissertations*, replete with various and extensive learning.

The writer must also add, that he has been honoured by Mr. *Marsh*, with some highly valuable communications by letter, and with similar communications from the noble Prelate, whose learning and talents lately illustrated the see of St. Asaph. He hopes he shall not be thought vain in mentioning these favours, as it would be

ingratitude in him not to feel them. His obligations to Dr. *Winstanley*, the Principal of Alban Hall, and Camden Professor of History, at Oxford, for innumerable services rendered him, in the course of the publication, he is as incapable of forgetting as he is of returning.

After this profession of general obligations, the aids to which he has more particularly had recourse must be acknowledged. For his general view of the Hebrew language, the writer was principally indebted to *Walton's Prolegomena*, *Simonis Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Hebræam*, and to *Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa*. For his account of the Hellenistic language, he was much indebted to *Simonis Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Græcam*, and to some excellent observations of Dr. *Campbell*, in the *Discourses prefixed to his translation of the Gospels*. In his account of the Septuagint he availed himself of *Calmet's Dissertations*, of Dr. *Owen's Historical and Critical Account of the Septuagint Version*, and Dr. *Hody's Treatises*. In speaking of the style of the New Testament, great use was made by him of the fourth of the *Preliminary Essays* prefixed by Dr. *Macknight* to his *Literal Translation of the Apostolical Epistles*. What he has said on the supposed currency of Rabbinical doctrines in Judæa, at the time of the birth of Christ, occurred from some expressions in *Michaelis*, and the mass of Rabbinical matter in *Wetstein's*

Notes. Some parts of Dr. *Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament* led him to what he has said on Herod's politics, on the Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Samaritans and the Geography of Asia. No work gives a better account of the customs and usages of the Greeks and Latins, as they are alluded to in the New Testament: his edition of the New Testament is particularly useful, by pointing out the classical turns and references of many of the expressions. On all these subjects the writer also availed himself of *Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities.* What is written on the celebrated prophecy of the *Shilo* was committed to paper, after considering what has been said on that subject by *Calmet,* Bishop *Newton,* and Mons. *Huet,* the most learned Bishop of Avranches, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica,* a work written in the purest Latinity, and diverging into an amazing range of learning, but wandering sometimes so far from the subject, as to justify the application, which has been made to it, of the verse in Terence,

Dii te perdant cum istâ tuâ demonstratione.

In the account given of the geography of Palestine, and its political state at the time of the birth of Christ, *Calmet, Relandus,* and *D'Anville* were consulted, and particular assistance received from *Ernesti's Institutio.* The outlines of the geography of Palestine appear to be ascertained with tolerable accuracy; but if credit be given to what Houbigant says, in a letter written by him to

L'Advocat, and published by L'Advocat at the end of his ingenious, but perhaps fanciful, *translation of the Psalm, Exurgat Deus*, every thing respecting the interior parts of it is in uncertainty and confusion. What is offered on the Biblical literature of the middle ages, is the result of some miscellaneous reading on that subject, in the lives of the Saints of those ages in the Roman Catholic calendar, particularly those written by Mr. *Alban Butler*, in his *Lives of the Saints*, " a work of merit," says Mr. Gibbon (Vol. IV. ch. xlv. note 67): " the sense and learning belong to the author, " his prejudices are those of his profession." As it is known what prejudice signifies in Mr. Gibbon's vocabulary, Mr. Alban Butler's relations accept the character. For what is said of the industry of the monks, in copying Hebrew manuscripts, Dr. *Tychsen* is cited as an authority: to some parts of Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, a reference in this place might also have been made. In the section respecting the Masora and the vowel points, the writer has mentioned the authors whom he consulted on those subjects. In his account of the Jews, he followed *Basnage*, the *authors of the Universal History*, and *David Ganze's Tsemah David*, a meagre chronicle, but the best history written by a Jew, since the time of Josephus. In this section the writer has copied some passages from Mr. *Levy's Succinct Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews*. In every part of his

account of the editions of the Old or New Testament, he received great assistance from Mr. *Bowyer's Origin of Printing*.

The nature of the work made it necessary to compress into a small compass what occurred to him, in favour of that persecuted and injured body of men, the Jews. On many accounts their general character entitles them to a high degree of esteem. Their charities to the poor of their own communion are immense; their care to adjust their differences in civil concerns amicably among themselves, is edifying: banks and bills of exchange, the two greatest supports of commerce, are of their invention. And let it not be forgotton, that if, on any account, they are justly censurable, our unworthy treatment of them may have forced them into the very acts we censure.

To what the writer has said on the authenticity of the Old Testament, he was chiefly led by *Calmet*, *Huet*, an excellent *Discourse of* Mr. *Marsh on the authenticity of the five Books of Moses*, and Mr. *Hooke's Principia Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ*, a work greatly admired on the continent, for its elegance, precision, and solidity, and which deserves to be printed in England. In writing it, Mr. Hooke availed himself much of the labours of English divines, in support of natural and revealed religion, particularly that profound and useful book, *Bishop Butler's Analogy*.

The short view of the nature of the works written by the Jews against the Christian religion, was taken from a cursory perusal of *Wagenseil's Tela ignea Satanæ*, referred to in the body of the work. Dr. *Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis*, his *Dissertations on the state of the Hebrew Text*, and the publications of *De Rossi*, furnished the writer with most of what he has said on the manuscripts and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible; and he received some assistance on this subject from *Walchius's Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta*. What he has said on the Greek manuscripts, and printed editions, and the oriental versions, is chiefly compiled from *Simon*, *Le Long*, *Calmet*, *Michaelis*, his excellent Translator, and the *Prolegomena* of *Walton*, *Mill*, *Wetstein*, and *Griesbach*.

In framing his account of the Antehieronyman versions, besides the writers mentioned in that part of his work, he had the advantage of the information so ably collected, and so agreeably conveyed, by Mons. *Huet*, in his learned and entertaining Dialogues *De claris Interpretibus*, and *De optimo Genere Interpretandi*. They were also of use to him in every other part of his work, which treats of the versions either of the Old or New Testament.

He is sensible, that his account of the English versions is very short; but he begs leave to observe, that, as these versions throw no light on the state

of the text, the mention of them did not enter into the plan of his work, and nothing therefore called for a fuller account of them.

In the parts of it, in which a short chronological account is attempted to be given of the history of the Jews, from their return from captivity to the birth of Christ, the writer was guided by *Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History*, one of the noblest efforts of the human mind.

What is said on the religious credence and opinions of the Greek and Oriental Christians, is taken from *Father Simon* and *Smith's Account of the Greek Church*, from the more modern account of it by Dr. *King*, *Goar's Euchologion Græcum*, and the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, particularly the Letters written by Father Sicard, to whom Mr. Gibbon's wish, respecting Volney, "that he might travel all over the world," might have been applied with greater reason. In this article use was also made of the three following treatises, in the collections of Bollandus, *Tractatus Præliminaris Jo. Baptistæ Sollerii ad Tom. V. Junii, de Patriarchis Alexandrinis: Tractatus Historico-Chronologicus de Patriarchis Antiochenis: Gulielmi Cuperi ad Tom. I. Aug. Tractatus Præliminaris de Patriarchis Constantinopolitanis ab initio istius Cathedræ ad ætatem usque nostram.* The title of Bollandus's Collection is, *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur.* It evidently deserves to

be more known in England, and to find a place in most of her great public libraries. The plan of this vast work was originally conceived by Father Rosweide, a Jesuit. It was first carried into execution by Father Bollandus, of the same society. The two first volumes, comprising the lives of the Saints of the month of January, were published in 1643. It was continued by different religious of the same society, through fifty volumes folio, to the volume which extends to and includes the Saints celebrated by the Church of Rome on the seventh day of October. The lives of the Saints, and the various memorials respecting them, of which the body of the work is composed, form an immense mass of historical information. It may be said to relate chiefly to ecclesiastical history: but when the intimate connexion between civil and sacred history is considered, this will not detract from its estimation, even with those whose attention is directed to civil history. All the writers engaged in this work are allowed to have possessed deep and extensive learning. Father Papebroch, who conducted it for forty-two years, is considered to have been a writer of the first strength; one of those superior men, who exist but once in a century; or, as Scaliger called them, *homines centenarii*. The Spanish Inquisition, to its eternal disgrace, condemned the volumes which contained the months of March, April and May, as erroneous, offensive to pious ears, heretical and injurious to the Holy See, the

Dominicans and Carmes. Among other charges against the publishers of these volumes, it was alleged, that they called in question the descent of St. Dominic from the noble family of the Guzmans, and the descent of the Carmes from Elias. It is scarcely worth mentioning, that the sentence was revoked in 1718. The principal dissertations interspersed in the work have been published together, in three volumes folio, at Venice, 1749—1751, under the title, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticæ Antiquitatis, et sacræ et profanæ Eruditionis, in quo Dissertationis, Tractatus, Diatribæ prælimi-nares, aliaque præstantia Monumenta, quæ a Jo. Bollando cæterisque Societatis Jesu Hagio-logis Antwerpiensibus, in omnibus fere de Actis Sanctorum Voluminibus conscripta, sparsim occur-runt, conjunctim exhibentur.* Some of the late society, with the assistance, it is said, of two Benedictine monks, were employed on the work, in the Abbey of Tongerloo, near Antwerp, when the enemies of all that is sacred arrived there under the command of Pichegru. The last of the three treatises referred to contains some particulars of the famous Cyrillus Lucaris. Several curious facts respecting the hierarchy of the Greek Church in Russia and Turkey appear in *Hofmann's Preface to the Catechism of the Greek Church*, published by Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kiow, with the approbation of three Russian Bishops, his suffragans. It was afterwards approved with great

solemnity by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem; by the Bishops of Ancyra, Larissa, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Berœa, Rhodes, Methymna, Lacedemon and Chio; and by several of the chief officers of the Greek Church in Constantinople. An edition of it in the Greek, Latin and German languages was published at Wratislaw, in octavo, in 1751. An ordinance of Peter the Great, of the Patriarchs of Moscovy and the perpetual Synod, declared it to express the religious credence of the Russian Church; and that the doctrine of it should be universally followed and taught. In what is said on the inspiration of the Holy Writings, the author principally considered what has been collected on that subject by Dr. *Doddridge* and *Calmet*. He wished to see the treatise written on it by *Jacquelot*, the powerful antagonist of Bayle: but he could not procure that treatise. Both Catholics and Protestants speak of it in high terms of commendation.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

PART II.

CONTAINING A CONNECTED SERIES OF NOTES ON THE KORAN, ZEND-AVESTA, VEDAS, KINGS AND EDDA.

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

WITH a view to impress on the memory, the result of some miscellaneous reading on different subjects, relating to THE KORAN, THE ZEND-AVESTA, THE VEDAS, THE KINGS AND THE EDDA, —the books accounted sacred by the Mahometans, the Parsees, the Hindûs, the Chinese and the Scandinavian descendants of the Scythians,—the following notes were committed to paper.

I. They begin with the Mahometans,—and offer a short view of the ancient history of the countries conquered by Mahomet and his first disciples, and the actual state of them, at that period. Under this head will be given some account of the ancient history, 1st, of Syria; 2dly, of Persia; and 3dly, of Africa; connecting the æras, mentioned in the account of Syria, with the rise and fall of Nineve, Babylon, Rome and Constantinople, to which Syria was successively subject; and the æras, mentioned in the account of Persia, with the leading events of Greece and Rome, antecedent to the same period; and, in the account of Africa, shortly

pointing out the principal occurrences in the history of that country, before its invasion by the disciples of Mahomet: II. Some mention will then be made of the events which facilitated the conquest of the east by the religion and arms of Mahomet; these are, 1st, the political weakness of the western and eastern empires; and 2dly, the religious disputes among the Christians of the east: III. Some account will then be given of the rise and first progress of the Mahometan religion; containing a view, 1st, of the Geography, 2dly, of the Early History of Arabia; 3dly, of the Hegira and the mode of computing it; and 4thly, of the extent of the conquests made by Mahomet and his immediate successors: IV. Mention will then be made of the principal Mahometan states; containing an account of the dynasties and fortunes, —1st, of the Universal Caliphs; 2dly, of the Sultans and Sophis of Persia; 3dly, of the Sultans and Mamlouc Governors of Egypt; 4thly, of the Caliphs and Sheriffs of Morocco and the States of Barbary; 5thly, of the Caliphs of Spain; 6thly, of the Mahometan Princes, who have reigned in Hindûstan; and 7thly, of the Ottoman Emperors: V. The irruptions of the Mogul Tartars under Gengiskhan and Timour into the Asiatic territories, conquered by the disciples of Mahomet, will then be mentioned: VI. Notice will then be taken of some of the principal attempts of the princes of Christendom to repel the Mahometans;

under this head mention will be made, 1st, of the Crusades; 2dly, of the military orders established for the defence of Christendom against the Mahometans; and 3dly, of the most important victories which have been gained by the Christians over the Mahometans since the Crusades: VII. A view will then be given of the religious tenets and literary history of the Mahometans; comprising an account, 1st, of the creed, opinions, and rites of the followers of Mahomet; 2dly, of the Koran; 3dly, of the Sects of the Mahometans; 4thly, of the Turkish Language; and 5thly, of Turkish Literature: VIII. A short view will then be offered of the actual extent and state of the countries where the Mahometan Religion is professed: IX. Mention will then be made of the principal authors, from whose writings the account of the Koran has been compiled: Articles will follow, comprising some account of the Zend-Avesta, the Vedas, the Kings and the Edda.

In perusing these sheets, the reader will derive much assistance from a Map, published by Mr. Wilkinson, with the title, "Eslam, or the "Countries, which have professed the Faith of "Mahomet."

I.

With respect to the ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE COUNTRIES, WHERE THE RELIGION AND EMPIRE OF MAHOMET TOOK THEIR RISE:

I. 1. The modern word, answering to the country

called *Syria*, is Barr-el-sham, or the country to the left, with a reference to Mecca. It is bounded by the Mediterranean on the west, by the Euphrates on the east, and from north to south it fills the space between Cilicia and Mount Amanus, to a line which may be supposed to be drawn from Gaza to the desert. A chain of mountains runs through it from north to south, with many ramifications: its most elevated point is the Lebanon. Under the Roman Empire it was divided into four parts, Commagêne, Seleucis, or the Syria Propria; Cœle-Syria, or the hollow Syria, from its being inclosed between the Lebanon and the Antilebanon, a mountain that runs parallel with it, and Phœnicia. Cœle-Syria contains Damascus, and the ruins of Palmyra; Palestina was added to Syria in later times.

The scripture informs us that Achaz, the king of Judah, being powerfully attacked by Razin the king of Syria, and by Phaceas, son of Romelias, the king of Israel invited Theglatphalasar, the king of Assyria or Nineve, to his assistance, and that he possessed himself of the greatest part of Syria - - - - - 742

Before Christ.

His son Salmanazar conquered Judæa, and carried the ten tribes into captivity to Nineve. Major Rennell, (*Geography of Herodotus, section* 15), has produced strong arguments to prove, that they were afterwards distributed in Media - - - - - 721

The Chaldæans or Babylonians, under Asaraddon, who was the grandson of Salmanazar, and who united in him the empires of Babylon and Nineve, completed the conquest of Syria, and sent the Cuthites, a people of Assyria, to inhabit that part of Palestine called Samaria; from it they took the name of Samaritans - - - - - - - - 677 (Before Christ.)

Syria was conquered by Cyrus - - 540

It continued part of the Persian empire till its overthrow by Alexander the Great - 330

On his decease it fell to Seleucus Nicator, the most powerful of his successors. From him, a long line of sovereigns of Syria, called the Seleucidæ, proceeded: it ended in Antiochus Asiaticus. He maintained an unsuccessful war with Lucullus, and was totally conquered by Pompey.

The kingdom of Syria, was part of the conquest, and thereupon made a Roman province - - - - - - - - 63

On the division of the Empire between the sons of Theodosius, it was annexed to the Empire of Constantinople - - - 395 (After Christ.)

It was the first of the conquests of the companions of Mahomet: they began the conquest of it in 632, and completed it in ten years - - - - - - - - 632

It is to be observed, that, in the vocabulary of the Jews, the word *Aram* denoted all the country

on the north of Palestine to Cappadocia, on the south, to the confines of Egypt and the Red Sea, and on the east, to the confines of Media and Persia; some have thought that, in the notions of the Jews, it included Assyria and stretched beyond the Tigris. The word *Elam* denoted Persia and the countries further to the east.

1. 2. Of the ancient kingdoms of the east, the history of none is more important than *the Persian.*

"The Persian empire in general," says Sir William Ousely, "is properly called Iran. The "word Persia is derived from Pars, the name of "a province the most respectable, as being the "usual residence of the kings. The name in "modern compositions, is most commonly written "Fars after the Arabian manner." It is called *Ariana* in the Greek, *Eriene* in the Zendish language. It lay, north and south between Media and the Persian gulph, and between the Tigris to the west, and the Arianan countries to the east. There are few countries, of the geography of which our information is less accurate. Sir William Ousely's promised map of it is expected by the literary world with great impatience.

It is supposed to have been founded by Caiumarus, probably the king of Elam, mentioned in the Scripture - - - 890 Before Christ.

His grandson, by his justice and excellent laws, obtained the name of Pishdad, or the

legislator: from him, this dynasty acquired the appellation of Pishdâdians; it ended about - - - - - - - - - 633 Before Christ.

This period nearly corresponds with that in the history of the Jews, which begins with the reign of Josophat, in Judah, and with the first enterprizes of Nebuchodonosor against Jerusalem. About the beginning of it, Homer and Hesiod flourished; the Empire of Nineve was founded; the ages, which Varro termed fabulous, expired; and towards the end of it the empire of Rome, began.

The Pishdâdian dynasty was succeeded by the Caianian family, in - - - - 600

It began with Cai-Caus, from whom it takes its name; he is called by our writers, Darius the Mede; his son Cai Khosru, is our Cyrus. The territory, known at that time, by the name of Persia, filled the space between Media, the Persic gulph, Susiania, and Caramania. Cyrus subdued the kingdoms of Nineve and Media, and almost all Asia Minor. These, with Persia, formed what is called in ancient history, the Persian empire: it extended from the Hellespont to the Indus; and its northern limits were the Euxine, Caspian and Aral seas - 568

The Caianian family ended with the battle of Arbela, when Dara or Darius the younger was conquered by Alexander the Great, and the monarchy of the Caianians was transferred to the Greeks - - - 330

This period includes the Babylonish captivity, the return of the Jews under Cyrus, the decree of Artaxerxes, permitting the Jews to rebuild the temple, the confirmation of their rights by Alexander the Great; the battles of Marathon and Platæa, the Peloponnesian war, the conquests of Alexander the Great, the history of Rome from its beginning to the expulsion of the Tarquins.

After this, a race of Persian monarchs, called Ashcanians from Ashac the founder of the race, is supposed to have reigned in the eastern parts of Persia, till about a century after the birth of Christ. Before Christ.

To this period must be referred, the unfortunate disputes among the Jews respecting the priesthood, the atchievements of the Asmonæans, the intercourse of the Jews with their Asiatic and African neighbours, the version of the Seventy, the subjection of the Jews to the Romans and the Idumæan sovereigns appointed by them; the division of Alexander's empire among his principal generals, their wars with the Greeks, the first and second Punic war, the conquests of the Romans; Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar.

During this period, Persia lost much of its territory, the Romans conquered from them the country on the west of the Taurus, and the Parthians drove them from Upper Asia. After Christ.

The Sassanian dynasty succeeded the Ashcanian. It commenced, about the beginning of the 3d century, by the revolt of Ardeshir Babegan, our Artaxerxes, the son of Sassan, a man in a low situation of life, but of royal extraction: from Sassan, the dynasty had its appellation. The princes of it reigned in Persia till the Mahometan invasion; and speaking generally, the boundaries of Persia, were, during that dynasty, nearly the same as they are at present - 202 (After Christ.)

Under Shapor, Mani broached his errors, and thereby sowed the seed of the Manichæan heresy.

Its principal object was to reconcile, generally, with the tenets of the Christian religion, the belief that the world and its phænomena, proceeded from two eternal and necessary causes; one essentially good, the other essentially evil - - - - - - - - 242

Nushirvan the great, known in Europe by the name of Cosroes, the last of this dynasty, began his reign, in - - - - 530

During his reign Mahomet was born - 569

I. 3. *Africa*, another of the earliest conquests of the Mahometans, lies between the 18th degree of west, and the 50th degree of east longitude, and reaches from the 35th degree of south to the 37th degree of north latitude: it is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic, on the south by the southern

ocean, on the east by the Red sea and the Indian ocean.

The Romans divided it, exclusively of Egypt, into the Cyrenaica, including Marmarica now Barca; the regia Syrtica, or the country between the two Syrtes, now Tripoly; Africa Propria, the Territory of the Carthaginians, now Tunis; Numidia, now Algiers; and Mauritania, now Morocco and Fez; under the names of Libya and south Æthiopia, they comprised its central parts.

It has afforded fewer materials for history than any other of the three continents of the ancient world. The exploits of Hercules in its western extremities, and his sailing through the streights of Gibraltar, are almost the only circumstances, which occasion the mention of Africa in the history of the fabulous ages - - - - - - - - - 1250 Before Christ.

The link which connects its fabulous and authentic history is the foundation of Carthage - - - - - - - 868

The history of Carthage may be divided into three periods: during the first, the celebrated circumnavigation of Africa was performed, by Phœnician mariners, employed by Pharaoh Necho. They sailed from the Red sea, and, in the 3d year of their voyage, passed the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt 610

To this period Mr. Falconer, (who, on the age of the Periplus of Hanno, has invin-

cibly refuted the contrary opinion of Dodwell), assigns the voyage of Hanno. Major Rennell recognizes, in Hanno's account, the capes Bianco and De Verd, the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, the island of Cernê, the bay of Bissago, answering to Hanno's Western Horn, the mountain of Sangaree, answering to his chariot of the gods, and Sherbro' Bay, answering to his Southern Horn, where the second voyage terminated - - - - - - - 570

Before Christ.

Within the same period, the Baron de St. Croix (*Histoire de l' Académie des Inscriptions, Tom.* 43), fixes the voyage of Scylax. By the command of Darius Hystaspis, he sailed with a squadron, from Pactya the modern Pehteley: and, in two years and six months, reached the Arabian gulph - - - - - 462

The first period of the history of Carthage ends with the invasion of Sicily by the Carthagenians - - - - - - 480

The second, with the commencement of the conflict between Rome and Carthage - 264

The third, with the destruction of Carthage - - - - - - - - 146

The next memorable event in the history of Africa is the Jugurthan war - - 107

The only other occurrence of consequence, in its history, before the birth of Christ, is the war of Cæsar in Africa - 45

Genseric, who reigned over the Vandals in Spain, conquered Africa from the Romans - - - - - - - - 428 (After Christ.)

It was reconquered by Belisarius, and from that time continued subject to the Emperor of the west, till it was invaded by the Saracens.

Such was the Geography, and such were the outlines of the History of the countries we have mentioned at the period under consideration.

II.

With respect to THE EVENTS WHICH FACILITATED THE CONQUEST OF THEM BY THE ARMS AND RELIGION OF MAHOMET:

II. 1st. *Both the Western and Eastern Empire were then in their lowest state of political imbecility.*

The Vandals, Suevi and Alani, who inhabited the countries bordering on the Baltic, made an irruption into Gaul, about the year 408; and from Gaul advanced into Spain - - - - - - - - - 408 (After Christ.)

About the year 415, they were driven from Spain by the Visigoths, and invaded Africa, where they formed a kingdom - 415

Between the year 401 and the year 420, the Franks, Allemanni and Burgundians penetrated into Gaul. Of these nations, the Franks

became the most powerful, and, having either expelled or subdued the others, made themselves masters of the whole of those extensive provinces, which from them, received the name of France - - - 420 (After Christ.)

Pannonia and Illyricum were conquered by the Huns; Rhœtia, Noricum and Vindelicia, by the Ostrogoths; and these, some time after, were conquered by the Franks.

In 449, the Saxons invaded England - 449

The Herulians marched into Italy, under the command of their king Odoacer, and overturned the empire of the west - - 476

From Italy they were expelled by the Ostrogoths - - - - - - - 493

About the year 568, the Lombards issuing from the mark of Brandenburg, invaded the Higher Italy, and founded an empire, called the kingdom of the Lombards - 568

After this, little remained in Europe of the Roman Empire, besides the middle and inferior Italy. These, from the time of the emperor Justinian's conquest of Italy, by the arms of Belisarius and Narses, belonged to the emperor of the east: he governed them by an officer called an Exarch, whose residence was fixed at Ravenna, and by some subordinate officers, called Dukes.

In 743, the exarchate of Ravenna, and all the remaining possessions of the Emperor in Italy, were conquered by the Lombards. This,

as it was the final extinction of the Roman empire in Europe, was the completion, in that quarter of the globe, of those conquests which established the feudal law - 743

After Christ.

The nations, by whom these conquests were made, came, it is evident, from different countries, at different periods, spoke different languages, and were under the command of separate leaders; yet appear to have established, in almost every state which they conquered, nearly the same legislative system. It is known by the appellation of the Feudal Law, and the establishment of it is one of the most memorable events in history.

At the time of Mahomet's appearance, these states were in the utmost confusion. They had completed their conquest over monarchy; but neither the extent of their territories, nor their forms of government were settled; the fury which accompanied them in their conquests was spent, they had sunk into a state of debility, and no bond of union connected them together.

If the period of the Christian æra were to be mentioned, when there was least of order, least of power, least of science, and least of intercourse in Europe, it would be that century which immediately preceded, and that which immediately followed the commencement of the Hegira.

The eastern empire still contained Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa and a part of Italy: but it had

been exhausted by a succession of foreign wars and civil dissensions repeated ravages of Barbarians, oppression in the capital, extortion in the provinces, weak councils, lawless armies and a disorderly court.

II. 2. To complete the calamity, *both the church and state, were, at this time equally weakened by religious controversy and persecution.*—The last of these circumstances was, in a particular manner, the cause of the rapid success of Mahometanism.

Very soon after the introduction of Christianity, a fondness for the philosophy of Plato and Pythagoras, led many to investigate the mysteries of the Trinity, and of the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ, with too much curiosity. Praxeas maintained, that there was but one person in the Trinity, and that the Father was the same as the Jesus who was crucified - - 193 (Year of Christ.)

The same heresy, with some modification, was adopted by Noëtus - - - 239

With a similar notion of preserving the unity of the divine substance, without giving up the Trinity, Sabellius reduced the three persons of the Trinity to one and the same being, manifesting himself by two distinct operations or energies moving from himself, called the Son and the Holy Ghost - - - 257

Arius, in avoiding the error of Sabellius, asserted Jesus Christ to be a creature drawn out of nothing, by the Father, and subsisting by his

will, but begotten before all other beings, and participating, by his Father's gift, in his essence and glory. He was condemned by the general council of Nice - - 325 Year of Christ.

To support the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, Apollinaris contended against Arius, that Jesus Christ had not an human soul; he was condemned by the sixth council of Rome - - - - - - - - 377

In opposition to him, Theodore of Mopsuestia maintained, that Jesus Christ had a soul distinct from the Word, and performed actions, which were only referrible to that soul. Without it, according to him, it would be necessary to suppose, that, the divinity suffered, the divinity increased in wisdom - - - 428

Nestorius carried the system further; he asserted the existence of two distinct persons in Christ; that one was eternal, infinite, increate; that the other originated in time, was finite, and had been created. His doctrine was condemned by the third council of Ephesus - 431

Eutyches fell into the opposite extreme, asserting, that, in Jesus Christ, the divine nature only existed; his humanity being absorbed by it, as a drop of water by the ocean. Thus, it was the error of Nestorius to divide the person, the error of Eutyches to confound the two natures of Christ. The doctrine of Eutyches was condemned by the council of Chalcedon in - 451

In opposition to the Eutychians, some Monks of Scythia asserted the proposition, "one of the Trinity has suffered for us" - 520 (Year of Christ.)

Pope John the 2d, in a letter to the emperor Justinian, approved of the proposition, it being explained to mean, that the second person of the Trinity suffered in the flesh - 534

The unity of God, the trinity of persons, being thus established in the Godhead, and the two natures and unity of person in the Son of God, a dispute arose on the nature of his will. Theodore, the bishop of Pharan in Arabia, asserted, and Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, adopted his assertion, that, in Jesus Christ, though there were two natures, there was but one will. This gave them and their adherents the name of Monothelites. Their heresy was finally condemned in the council at Rome, in - - 649

Marcian, and Leo, his immediate successor in the throne of Constantinople, enforced the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, with great rigor.

The emperor Justinian enacted many laws against Heretics, Pagans, Jews and Samaritans, and caused them to be carried into execution with great severity. To all the heterodox he offered the alternative of orthodoxy or exile.

The number of those who preferred the latter was great; and the three Arabias offered them a secure retreat: to those therefore they fled.

III.

With respect to THE RISE AND FIRST PROGRESS OF THE MAHOMETAN RELIGION:

III. 1. *Arabia*, where it first took its rise, extends in longitude east, from the 51st to the 77th degree, and in latitude north, from the 12th to the 34th. It forms a peninsula, bounded by Syria and Palestine on the north-west, by the Persian gulph and the western borders of the Euphrates towards the north-east, by the Indian sea on the south-east, and by the Red Sea on the south-west. It is divided into the stony, the sandy, and the happy Arabia. The mountains of Horeb and Sinai are in the stony Arabia, the cities of Mecca and Medina in the sandy Arabia. "The Arabs," says Mr. Sale, "have preserved their liberty, of which few nations "can produce such ancient monuments, even from "the very Deluge; for, though very great armies "have been sent against them, all attempts to sub-"due them were unsuccessful."—He shows that, as a nation, they have always been independent, as individuals, they have always possessed the highest degree of domestic freedom.

III. 2. The *inhabitants of Arabia* have been divided into two classes, the old and new. The old are wholly lost; the new are supposed to have sprung from two stocks, Kahtan, the son of Heber, a great grandson of Sem, and Adnan, a descendant, in a direct line, from Ismael, the son of Abraham by Hagar. The former of these two stocks is said

to be the genuine or pure Arabs, or, as the natives call them, Arabs through Arabs; the latter is the mestif or mixed Arabs. Ismael, through whom these claim to descend from Abraham, was virtually an Hebrew; but by his marriage with a daughter of Morad, of the race of Kahtan, he ingrafted his posterity on the Arabic stock.

Mahomet descended from Ismael in a straight line, from male to male, and from eldest son to eldest son.

In tracing his genealogy, three series of descents are distinguished: the first from Ismael to Adnan, in which all is uncertainty; the second from Adnan to Fehr, surnamed the Koreish; the third from Fehr to Mahomet. The descents from Adnan are ascertained with tolerable certainty; but the Koreish, confessedly the most eminent of the tribes of the Arabs, originated from Fehr. A traditionary account, which the Arabians hold sacred, has transmitted every name which enters into this long pedigree; and though we should consider it fabulous, it is a fable adopted by the nation, and fables adopted by a nation are, like truths adopted by her, the foundation of the rights of the families of which she is composed. Besides, it is well known, with what care the ancient nations of the east preserved the memory of their descents: their pedigrees make their history. According to them, when Abraham expelled Ismael and Hagar from his house, Ismael wandered to that part of Arabia,

where Mecca now stands, and which then was a mere desert; there, tormented with thirst and worn down with fatigue, he miraculously discovered the well, mentioned in the book of Genesis. He remained in its neighbourhood till the death of Hagar: then he proceeded to the northern parts of Arabia. He found them peopled with the descendants of the patriarch Heber. Soon afterwards, he married; and having continued a considerable time in the northern part of Arabia, he quitted it, and with a large family and numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, returned to Hagar's well.

Before his journey to Arabia, the tribe of the Gioramides had established itself in South Arabia: they advanced afterwards to the North, and fixed in a spot, about ninety leagues distant from Hagar's well: there, they laid the foundation of the city of Yatreb, to which Mahomet gave the name of Medina. Thus, even as early as the days of Ismael, the Mahometan writers find in Arabia, the rival cities of Mecca and Medina, and the rival tribes by which they were inhabited.

The Gioramides afterwards returned to the South, and possessed themselves of Hagar's well; Ismael reclaimed it; the dispute was settled by an alliance between the tribes; Ismael marrying Vaala, the daughter of Modal, the chief of the Gioramides, and receiving with her, in marriage, the well and the territories adjacent.

Ismael built, in the middle of his possessions, the celebrated Caaba, or square house, in honour of the God of Abraham. The Mahometans assert that, by the order of God, Abraham assisted Ismael in building it; and that it was formed on the model of a similar building, which Seth had erected from a representation, let down from heaven at the prayer of Adam, and which had been destroyed by the Deluge. A black stone in it became an object of great veneration, from the notion of its having been brought to Abraham, by the angel Gabriel, to rest upon, while he was directing the building, and on which Abraham had left the print of his feet. Hagar's well is now called the Well of Zemzen. Insensibly, by the increase of Ismael's descendants, and a conflux of strangers, attracted by the celebrity of the place, the neighbourhood of the Caaba and the well became very populous. The descendants of Ismael were the first princes of the city and the first priests of the temple. But the great grandson of Ismael leaving, at his decease, two children of very tender years, the chief of the tribe of the Gioramides possessed himself both of the city and the temple. They were recovered by the Ismaelites, about three centuries afterwards; but the Gioramide prince, before he abandoned Mecca, threw into Hagar's well, the whole treasure of the temple, and the principal objects of devotion in it, and particularly the black stone; he then filled up the well with rubbish - - - - - - 1343

Before Christ.

For some time the Ismaelites preserved the possession of the city and temple; they were driven from them by the Zhozaites: Kofa, the chief of the Koreish, and therefore an Ismaelite, obtained possession of them by stratagem, and transmitted them to his posterity. Before Christ.

Before this time, Idolatry had made great progress in Arabia; it owed its origin to the astronomical observations of the Arabians. In their journies through their immense deserts, the Arabians had no other guides than the stars; they observed the regularity of their motions; they supposed them directed by intellectual beings inferior to God, but superior to man. This worship of the stars led them to form statues with their name, and to make talismans, which they supposed of sufficient power to regulate their influence. They generally believed the scriptural history of the Creation, and the Deluge; respected Abraham and other patriarchs; read the book of the Psalms, and had other books which they accounted sacred, particularly a collection of moral discourses which they called the Book of Seth. Their superstitious credence is known by the appellation of Sabaeism.

In the midst of this general idolatry, the descendants of Ismael, who united in themselves the titles of princes of Mecca and guardians of its temple, were depositaries of the primitive worship. Among them, Caab is particularly distinguished: on every Friday, he assembled the faithful, and discoursed to them on the unity of

God. Yet idolatry gained ground, and, at the death of Kelab, the grandson of Caab, the worship of the true God is said, by the Arabian writers, to have been confined to the temple of Mecca. Before Christ.

Caab left two sons; Kofa his eldest son was, for a time, dispossessed of his sovereignty by Amrou, his younger brother: he introduced the worship of idols into the temple; and Kofa had not sufficient influence with his tribe to remove them. His grandson Haschem succeeded to the sovereignty, about the beginning of the sixth century of the christian æra - - - - - - - - 500 After Christ.

He was the great-grandfather of Mahomet, and the ablest of the Meccan princes. He introduced commerce into his state by the establishment of two caravans, one for South Arabia, the other for Syria - - 577

Abdo'lmotalleb, his only son, succeeded his father, and pursued, with success, his views for the aggrandizement and wealth of his state. To him, according to the Mahometan writers, the place of Hagar's well was discovered: he cleared it from its rubbish, and dug up the black stone. Abdollah was the eldest son of Abdo'lmotalleb, and died in his life-time. Mahomet was the only son of Abdollah: he was born, in - - - - - - - 569

Abdo'lmotalleb died, in - - - 578

At the age of six years, Mahomet lost his mother: at her decease, Abdo'lmotalleb, his grandfather, took him under his care, but he dying at the end of two years, Abutaleb, the eldest surviving son of Abdo'lmotalleb, and who, in that quality, succeeded to the dignities of prince of Mecca and priest of the temple, undertook the care of Mahomet's education: he made him his companion in the caravans he conducted, and the wars he carried on. This was the life Mahomet led, till he attained his twenty-fifth year; when he married Kadija, who was his relation, and a widow in wealthy circumstances - 593

After Christ.

All accounts of Mahomet agree that from his earliest years, he was religiously inclined, and showed great zeal against idolatry, and a strong wish for its extirpation. It is said, that Sergius, a Nestorian monk, remarked this disposition in him, when, in his 13th year, he accompanied his father to the monastery in which Sergius resided. After his marriage, his zeal redoubled, and he gave himself up to a mystic and contemplative life. Once a year, he shut himself up for a whole month, in a cavern of a mountain, about three miles distant from Mecca, to meditate, without interruption, on religious subjects. His temperance and ample charities to the poor procured him universal respect; his piety was so generally acknowledged, that, a dispute arising, who should have the honour of placing the black stone in the temple

of Mecca, the voice of the people unanimously deferred it to him. His mode of life could not but increase the fanaticism of an imagination naturally ardent; at the age of 40 he publickly assumed the character of a prophet sent by God, to re-establish, in its purity, the religion of Abraham and Ismael.

III. 3. He addressed a willing audience of armed proselytes, who would follow him with fanaticism equal to his own, whose powerful onset neither the eastern nor western empire was likely to resist, whom first victories would elevate to irresistible valour and enterprize, and who would spread themselves over the world with the zeal of missionaries, and the ambition of conquerors.

At first, he met with some resistance, and in consequence of it, was obliged to fly from Mecca to Medina, a distance of about 170 miles. This was in the 622d year of the Christian æra. With this year the Mahometans begin their epocha of the *Hegira* or Flight. Friday, the sixteenth day of July, in the 622d year of the Christian æra, is generally assigned for the day of its commencement:—by some Mahometans, it is placed one day earlier.

The Arabian years are lunar, consisting of 354 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes: but their civil years are sometimes of 354, and sometimes of 355 days. The intercalary days are adjusted by a cycle of 30 years, of which 19 are of 354 days, and 11

of 355 days, in the following order,—2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29. A cycle began in the year 1757, on the 14th of September, which was the first day of the Hegira 1171. (La Lande, *Astronomie*, 2 *Ed. Book* 8. § 1602, 1603.)

This cycle is equal to 29 Julian years, and 39 or 40 days, according as there are 7 or 8 Bissextile years among them; in longer computations, the omission of the Bissextile in 3 out of 4 centenary years, according to the Gregorian Reformation, must not be forgotten.

III. 3. *The extent of the conquests made by Mahomet* and his immediate successors in the caliphate, called his companions, is one of the most surprising events mentioned in history.

The three Arabias were subdued by Mahomet; Abubeker, his immediate successor, assumed from respect and in reference to him, the title of Caliph, or Vicar, and, in this, was followed by a long line of successors. Very soon after Mahomet's decease, his disciples were generally known, among the Christians, by the appellation of Saracens. Abubeker addressed them a circular letter, in which he shortly acquainted them, that, "he intended sending some true believers into Syria to "take it out of the hands of the Infidels:" and "desired them to observe, that fighting for religion "was an act of obedience to God." This was a general declaration of war by the Mahometans against all mankind, who should not embrace their

religious principles. From the avowed object of the war, they called it the "holy war," and thus, to use the expression of the author of *l'Esprit des Croisades*, (*Tom. I. p.* 116,) "it was the model "and the justification of the crusades." Such was the success of their enterprize, that, in less than a century from the commencement of the Hegira, they spread the religion of Mahomet, from the Atlantic Ocean, to India and Tartary; and his successors reigned in Syria, Persia, Egypt, Africa and Spain. Since that time, they have been expelled from Spain; but have conquered the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda in India, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the Cyclades, and have made large territorial acquisitions in Tartary, Hungary and Greece.

Jerusalem was taken by the generals of Omar, the 2d Caliph. "The descriptions," says Mons. Anquetil, (*Précis de l'Histoire Universelle, Tom. V. p.* 40), "which the historians of the campaigns "of the Saracens in Judæa, give of their fertility "and their numerous towns, enriched by com- "merce, agree with the descriptions given of them "by the sacred penmen, and show that they have "been unjustly accused of exaggeration for calling "it the land of milk and honey. What, under "the dominion of the Turks, are the fields watered "by the Tigris and Euphrates?"

IV.

With respect to THE PRINCIPAL MAHOMETAN STATES:

IV. 1. In the history of Mahometanism *the Dynasties and Fortunes of the Universal Caliphs fill a large space.*

The four first of them are distinguished by the appellation of Companions of Mahomet, and caliphs of the right line. They reigned from the death of Mahomet, which happened in the eleventh year of the Hegira, or the 632d year of Christ, to the 40th year of the Hegira, or the 661st year of Christ.

The three first caliphs resided at Medina; Ali transferred his residence to Coufah, or Cafa, a town in Chaldæa, or the Babylonish Irak, situate on the right bank of the Euphrates - - - - 41

Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
41	661

The four first caliphs are considered to have been elected by the general and free voice of the whole body of the people. This gives their caliphate a rank above those of their successors. Theirs is the Perfect, that of their successors, is the Imperfect Caliphate.

After the assassination of Ali and the resignation of Hassan, his eldest son Moaviah was elected caliph. He was great grandson of Ommyiah, who was of the same family as Mahomet. He made the caliphate hereditary in his family, and fourteen

of his descendants, (a collateral relation being sometimes called to the succession, in preference to the lineal heir), possessed the caliphate in succession.

From Ommyiah it is called the dynasty of the Ommiades. Moaviah transferred the seat of the caliphate to Damascus.

To Walid the 1st, the prevalence of the Arabic language in the countries conquered by the disciples of Mahomet, is owing. He ordered that the Greek language should be no longer used, and that the Arabic should be substituted for it.

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
Under him the caliphate had its largest extent of territory.—It reached from Spain to China, and China was its tributary	95	713
It was even, for a time, uncertain, whether the arms of the Saracens would not subdue all Europe. At the head of an immense army, Abderame, by the order of the caliph Hashem, crossed the Pyrenees, passed the Rhone, took Arles, over-ran Aquitaine, and reached the banks of the Loire; there he was met and completely defeated by Charles Martel -	114	732
Mervan the 2d, the last prince of the dynasty of the Ommiades, died in -	133	750

The reason assigned by the Ommiades, for their rising against Ali, was his connivance in the murder of Othman, his immediate predecessor. The Abassides rose against the Ommiades, on pretence of revenging on them the

death of Ali. By the defeat and murder of Mervan the 2d, they possessed themselves of the caliphate, and Aboul Abbas was elected caliph. At first, he fixed his residence at Coufah; thence transferred it to Haschemiah, on the Euphrates. Abou-Giafar-Almansor, his immediate successor, built the town of Bagdat. Till the extinction of the Abassidan dynasty, that town was the principal residence of the caliphs; and there, having completely abandoned the simplicity of the first caliphs, they displayed all the magnificence and ceremonial of the Persian and Bysantine courts. From their residence in that city, the Abassides are usually called the caliphs of Bagdat, in contradistinction from the Ommiades, who, from the country in which they resided, are called the caliphs of Syria. They were supreme both in church and state.

The power of the caliphs was preserved under the Ommiades, without any sensible diminution. It flourished greatly under the first of the Abassides. By the orders of Abdallah the 3d, an account was taken of the persons then living of that race, and they were found to exceed 33,000 - - - - 201 | 816

The splendor of the caliphate began to decline under Motasem, the 8th of the Abassides. He first introduced, into the service of the caliphs, the Turks, their future masters - - - - 218 | 833

Radhi, the 20th caliph of the Abassides,

Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ.

was the last by whom the caliphate was possessed with any degree of splendor; "the last," says Abulfeda, "who "harangued the people from the pulpit, "who passed the cheerful hours of leisure "with men of learning and taste; whose expence, "revenues and treasures, whose table or magnificence had any resemblance to those of the "ancient caliphs."—From being the most powerful sovereigns of the eastern world, they, soon after his time, were reduced to the meanest and most servile offices, to the lowest state of degradation and contempt.

Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
329	940

The extent of their dominions made it necessary that they should employ governors in the remoter provinces, and invest them with unlimited powers: symptoms of disobedience soon appeared among them. The revolt of Spain was the first successful rebellion against them. The example was generally followed; and, long before the final extinction of the Abassidan dynasty, the empire of the calphs was divided among a number of independent princes. Many of them were known by the appellation of Emirs.

The history of these revolts is the principal subject of the annals of the Saracens, during the 10th century of the christian æra, or the period from the 288th to the 391st year of the Hegira. Among these revolts, two deserve particular attention: that of Obeidollah, who founded the Fatimite

dynasty in Africa, and that of Moez-Ledinillah, (the fourth in succession from him), who conquered Syria and Egypt, and founded Grand Cairo - 391 | Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ. 1000

Similar revolts are the subject of the annals of the Saracens in the following century. It is particularly remarkable for the conquests of Mahmood of Gazna, the first Mahometan prince who bore the title of Sultan; and for the rise of the Seljouk Turks, one of the many nations that occupied the territory between the Euxine and the Caspian seas. 494 | 1100

The next century is remarkable for the dismemberment of the caliphate by the Atabeks, or Lieutenants, who formed four separate and independent dynasties, which reigned in the Arabian Irak, in Aderbigan or Media, in Fars or Persia, and in Laristan, or the country on the Persian gulph - 529 | 1135

By degrees the caliphs were deprived of all temporal power, and were even reduced to beg for alms. They frequently made attempts to restore themselves to their former consequence, but were ultimately unsuccessful.

Mostasem, the 56th caliph, was dethroned and put to death by Houlagou Khan, the fifth of the Gengkiskhanidan Moguls. 656 | 1258

Mostanser Billah, a son or pretended son of Daher, the last but one of the caliphs, fled into Egypt;—and he and his successors to the number

of eighteen, were considered to be the Imams or spiritual chiefs of the Mahometan religion, but without the slightest vestige of temporal authority.

With Mostanser, the universal caliphate is generally considered to end. The caliphs, distinguished by the appellation of Companions of Mahomet, were four; the next fourteen caliphs were of the dynasty of the Ommiades; the remaining forty-five were of the dynasty of the Abassides; twenty-seven of these reigned before Mostanser's flight into Egypt, the succeeding eighteen resided in Egypt. All were called the Universal Caliphs, in contradistinction from the other princes who took the title of caliph: whatever temporal power was possessed by those caliphs, the Universal Caliphs alone are considered to have had the Immameth or Spiritual Power.

IV. 2. *Egypt* is a narrow vale on each side of the Nile, widening where the river branches off before it empties itself into the Mediterranean. The Romans divided it into the Lower and Upper Egypt: the Lower extended from the Mediterranean, to the southern point of the Delta; there, Upper Egypt commenced.

It was divided into Heptanomis, the country extending to Said, and the Thebais, or the country reaching from Said to Æthiopia. Egypt was anciently called Mizraim. It is said to have been subject to Cham, a grandson of Noah. On his decease, it was divided into several principalities,

all of which, about the year 687 A. C. became united in Amenophis. Soon after his decease, they were again divided; and, in the person of Psammiticus were again united. Egypt was conquered by Cambyses, king of Persia, in 525 A. C. It continued subject to the Persians, till, in 413, it was conquered from them by Amyrrheus. From that time it was an independent kingdom, and governed by its own sovereigns, till it was conquered by Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, in 350 A. C. From that, to the present time, no native of Egypt has ever been its sovereign. It remained a province of Persia, till, on the death of Alexander the Great, in 325, it was seized by Ptolemy Lagus. His descendants held it till it was reduced to a Roman province.

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
It was conquered from the Romans by Amrou, one of Omar's generals, in	21	641
On the dismemberment of the caliphate, Abou-Obeidollah, who pretended to descend from Ali and Fatima, possessed himself of it	297	909
With him the dynasty of the Fatimite caliphs began; it ended in Ahded, the 11th prince of the dynasty	567	1171

He was conquered by Saladin, the Sultan of Damascus and Aleppo, one of the most humane, able, and powerful princes who have professed the Mahometan religion. He was

a declared enemy of the Fatimite sect, and ordered the name of the caliph of Bagdad to be inserted in all the public prayers. He gained, over the christians, the battle of Hittin near Tiberias, which was soon followed by the conquest of all the towns possessed by the christians in Syria - - - 583 | 1187

Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ.

He was of the Ayoubite dynasty. One of the princes of this dynasty having purchased twelve thousand Kaptschac Turks, formed out of them a body of troops, to whom he committed the care of his person. Some of them he raised to the first employments in the state: they deposed his successor, and appointed one of their own chiefs to the dignity of Sultan, and professed themselves his Mamlouks or military slaves. With this, the dynasty of the Baharite Mamlouks commences. The first sovereign of that dynasty was Moezzeddin-Ibegh-el-Turkomani el Dgiaschangir - - - - - 648 | 1250

From that period their history is a continued scene of bloodshed. In a course of 257 years, 47 sultans filled the throne, and almost all of them died a violent death. Touman Bey, the last and one of the most valiant of the Mamlouk Sultans, was conquered and put to death by Selim the 2d, the emperor of Constantinople; and with him finished the Mamlouk kingdom of Egypt - - - - - 923 | 1517

It then became a province of the Ottoman empire. Selim preserved the Mamlouks, and divided them into seven military corps. For the government of the kingdom he appointed a Pacha and a Divan, or military council, composed of the Pacha and the chiefs of the military corps; and distributed the kingdom into twenty-four provinces, under the direction of as many Beys, who were always to be chosen from the Mamlouks, and one of them was sent to reside at Cairo, under the appellation of Sheikh-eb-beled. "Such," says M. Volney, "is the militia of "slaves, converted into despots, which, for more "than 550 years, have given law to Egypt." A circumstance unparalleled, in what we know of other nations, attends them. Scarcely any of them has left issue, who have subsisted in the 3d generation. The consequence is, that, as they die away, they are replaced by slaves brought from Georgia, Circassia and Mingrelia. To this, in some measure, the continuance of the dependance of the Mamlouks on the Ottoman Emperors has been owing. But this dependance for some time past has been on the decline. In 1746, Ibrahim, one of the veteran colonels of the Janissaries, rendered himself master of Egypt. Ali Bey did the same in 1766, and had he possessed a greater share of judgment and ability, Egypt might now have been an independent kingdom.

IV. 3. *Africa*, where the caliphs and sheriffs of Morocco had their rise, was invaded by the Saracens in 647, and the conquest of it was completed by them, in - - - - - - - 79

Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ.

693

The extensive desarts of each country had naturally occasioned an immemorial resemblance in their habits and modes of life, and the Moors easily adopted the language of their conquerors. The consequence was, that, from the time of the Mahometan conquest, the vast territory from the easternmost boundary of Arabia to the western shore of Africa, appeared to be peopled by a nation of the same origin, language and manners. Africa was ruled by the caliph of Bagdad. Ali Ibrahim, the 10th in succession of these governors, made himself independent of the caliph - - - - - - 197

812

He was the founder of the dynasty called the Aglabite, from his father. But it should be observed, that the Aglabite dynasty reigned over that part only of Africa, which extends from Egypt to Tunis. Edris-ben-Edris, who descended both from Ali and from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, reigned over Ceuta, Fez, Tangiers, and almost all the ancient Mauritania.

The dynasty of the Aglabites expired, in - - - - - - - - 296

908

Mahomet-Obeid-Ollah then seized the throne. He expelled the Edrissite

dynasty from the countries over which they reigned, and annexed them to his empire. He pretended to deduce his origin from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, and assumed the title of Caliph and Imam. With him the Fatimite dynasty in Africa took its rise.

Moez, the last prince of that dynasty, having conquered Egypt, fixed the seat of his empire at Cairo, and transferred the sovereignty of Africa to Sousouf-ben-Zeiri-ben-Mounad, on the condition of receiving homage from him and his successors - - 362 | 972

This was the origin of the Zeirite dynasty. They were succeeded by the Almoravides, or Recluse; and these, by the Almohades or Unitarians - - 553 | 1153

That dynasty expired in the person of Vassek-Aboul-Ala.

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.

Three dynasties arose on its ruins, the Merinis, the Abi-haffs, and the Beni-Zians or Zenetes. The first, (who were the most powerful), ruled in Morocco; the second, in the Africa Propria of the Romans, the third, in Tremesan. While the princes of these dynasties were contending for dominion, Frederic Barbarossa, one of the many illustrious persons whose atchievements illustrated the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, possessed himself of the whole territory extending from Fez to Egypt. Retaining the government of Algiers for himself, he put one of his brothers

in possession of Tunis, another in possession of Tripoli: no part of Africa except Morocco, Fez, and Tremesan, then remained to the Merinis: from those they were expelled by the Sheriffian family, a prince of which now fills that throne - - 957

Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
957	1550

Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli are republics, professing to be under the protection, but disclaiming the sovereignty of the Porte. Barca lies between Tripoli and Egypt, and belongs to the Porte: the nations which fill the northern extremity of Africa, from the streights of Gibraltar to Egypt, are called the states of Barbary. Ceuta, on the streights of Gibraltar, Mellila and the fort of Velez in Fez, belong to the Spaniards: Magazan, in the same kingdom, belongs to the Portugueze; except in those places, Islamism is professed through the whole western coast of Barbary, and very far in the country lying to its south. No part of the history of the Saracens is so confused, and at the same time so disgusting, by the continued scenes it displays of bloodshed and every kind of horror, as that which relates to the history of their African possessions.

IV. 4. *Spain*, including Portugal, reaches from the 7th degree of western to the 3d degree of eastern longitude; and from the 36th to the 44th degree of northern latitude. It is bounded on the north, by the Bay of Biscay and the Pyrenees; on the south and south-east, by the Mediterranean;

on the west, by the Atlantic. It is said to have been peopled originally by Tubal, a grandson of Noah. In consequence of a famine, a large proportion of its inhabitants left it about the year 1702, A. C. and established themselves in a country between the Euxine and Caspian seas, called from this event, Iberia. Some of them returned to Spain, having been joined by a numerous body from the different Celtic nations through which they passed; on that account they received, after their return, the name of Celt-iberi. Being jealous of the Phœnicians, who had made settlements in the north and north-western coasts, they applied to the Carthaginians for their assistance in expelling them, and the Carthaginians made themselves masters of the whole country: this was about the year 221, A. C. The wars between Rome and Carthage began in Spain: the Romans subdued the greatest part of it: they divided it into two provinces, the Hispania citerior, and the Hispania ulterior, and governed them by two Prætors. Augustus divided the latter into two provinces; so that, at the beginning of the Christian æra, it consisted of three provinces: the Tarraconensis, which contained all the north of Spain to the Douro; Lusitania, containing Portugal, part of Leon, and all the Old and part of New Castille; and the Bœtica, which comprehended Andalusia, Granada, and the other part of New Castille.

Spain was one of the parts of the Roman empire which were first subdued by the Barbarians.

The universal tradition of the nations of the north, and all their ancient writers, place the Goths, the conquerors of Spain, at a period, as early as general history reaches, among the nations of the Baltic, to the confines of which they had travelled from the ancient Scythia, and assigned the denomination of Visigoths or Western Goths, to those tribes of them, which inhabited that part of Scandinavia, which borders on Denmark; and that of Ostrogoths or Eastern Goths, to those, which inhabited the more eastern parts on the Baltic. In all their emigrations and settlements, they preserved their names, and the same relative situation. Towards the end of the first century of the Christian æra, a large establishment of them is found on the Vistula, and numerous tribes of a people of the same origin, but known by the appellation of Vandals, is found on the Oder. Year of Christ. 100

Then history shews their migrations to the Euxine, the settlements of the Ostrogoths in the southern parts of Asia Minor, and the settlements of the Visigoths in Thrace. At the battle of Adrianople, the Goths obtained over the emperor Valens a victory, from which the empire of the west never recovered.

Alaric was the first of the barbarian invaders who took the city of Rome. About 410

nine months before that event, the Suevi, Vandals and Alani invaded Spain. It was soon afterwards conquered from them by the Visigoths: they kept possession of it for three centuries: at the end of which, the Saracens or Moors, by the treachery of two exiled princes, and of Oppas, the Archbishop of Seville, completed the conquest of it in eight months - - - - - - - 94 | 712

Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ.

About the same time, the Ostrogoths made their settlements in Panonia and Sclavonia, and the countries on the higher Danube.

Upon a revolution of the caliphate at Damascus, Abdalrahman or Almansor, a royal youth of the family of the Ommiades, established an independent kingdom in Spain, and assumed the title of caliph. He fixed his throne at Cordova - - - - - - 134 | 751

The caliphs of this line are often called the caliphs of the west, to distinguish them from the universal caliphs, who, from having the seat of their empire at Bagdad, were called the caliphs of the east.

The reigns of the Ommiades in Spain, were, to use Mr. Swinburne's words, (*Travels through Spain*, p. 280), "those flourishing ages of "Arabian gallantry and magnificence, which "rendered the Moors of Spain superior to all "their contemporaries in arts and arms, and made

" Cordova one of the most splendid cities of " the world. Cordova was the centre of polite- " ness, taste and genius; tilts and tournaments, " with other costly shews, were long the darling " pastimes of a wealthy happy people. And this " was the only kingdom in the west, where geo- " metry, astronomy and physic, were regularly " studied and practised."

It is observable that Cordova, under Abdalraham the 2d, was paved with stone, which was 334 years before the time when, under Philip Augustus, the metropolis of France first had that pavement

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
	236	850

The dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain ended by the murder of Mutumed al Allah, the last prince of that family, in

	430	1038

They were succeeded by the Morabouths or Almoravides.

This revolution wholly changed the face of the Arabic monarchy in Spain. The governors of the provinces, the ministers of the state, and chief officers in the army, and the heads of the leading families raised themselves to be independent princes, so that there were almost as many kingdoms as towns. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Iaen, Lisbon, Tortosa, Valentia, Murcia, Almeria, Denia and the Balearick Islands had their respective sovereigns.

The Christian princes took advantage of these divisions, and by degrees conquered Castile,

Arragon, Navarre and Portugal from the Mahometans. The last principality which remained to the Mahometans, was Granada and its territory. It was yielded up by Abdalmoumin, the last of the dynasty of Morabouths or Almoravides, to Abousabid, a prince of the dynasty of the Almohades. Mahomet-al-hamar possessed himself of it, in - - - - - - - - 634 1236

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
It was conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella, in - - - - - -	898	1492

Whilst it was governed by it's Mahometan sovereigns, "It seems," says Mr. Swinburne, "to have enjoyed greater affluence "and prosperity than it has done since it became "a province of Spain. Before the conquest, it was "one of the most compact, well peopled, opulent "kingdoms in the world. Its agriculture was "brought to great perfection; its revenues and "circulation were immense; the public works "carried on with great magnificence, and its "population not to be credited by any person that "sees it in its present state. Of their taste and "magnificence, the ruins of the palace of Alham-"bra, built in the midst of gardens of aromatic "trees, with noble views over beautiful hills and "fertile plains, are a splendid monument. The "Moors are said to offer up prayers, every Friday, "for the recovery of this city."

After the conquest of it by Ferdinand and

Isabella, a considerable number of the Moors remained in Spain. They were called Moriscoes. They formed, in Granada, a conspiracy against the Spaniards, which was not quelled until the end of two years, and after many considerable battles - - 975 | 1568

Philip the Third, at the instigation of the inquisition, a tribunal always to be mentioned with the bitterest expressions of detestation, issued an edict ordering all Moriscoes, without any exception, to quit the Spanish territories. From the effect of this improvident measure, Spain has never recovered - 1019 | 1610

IV. 5. The history of *Persia* has been traced to the conquest of it by the generals of the caliph Omar. From that time, it was governed by princes of Turkish extraction, till it was conquered by the Tartars under the command of a son of Genghiskhan - 599 | 1202

His descendants became divided among themselves, the kingdom was dismembered, and Timour made an easy conquest of it from them, in - - - 787 | 1385

He was succeeded by Shahrok, his 4th son. A race of Armenian princes then possessed the throne.

About the beginning of the 16th century, Shah Ismael Sophy, who pretended to descend from Muza Khan, one of the twelve sons of Hacon, the son of Ali, the cousin and 906 | 1500

Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ.

son-in-law of Mahomet, seized the throne. He established the sect of Ali in Persia, on the ruin of the sect of Omar, whom the Turks venerate. The hatred which subsists on this account between the Persians and Turks has been mentioned.

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
It occasioned a long series of war and bloodshed between the two nations. About the year 1730, the whole kingdom of Persia was conquered by Nadir Shah, an obscure individual of a Tartarian Tribe, called Afgars. He raised it to the highest degree of splendor. At his decease, it was divided into a number of governments, and in that state, it has since continued.	1143	1730

IV. 6. *The Mahometan Dynasties in the Empire of Hindustan*, arose in the immense tracts of land which lie between the Asiatic dominions of the Czar and Persia, India and China. These have been immemorially filled with numerous hordes, who, at different times, under the names of Scythians, Getes, Huns, Moguls and Tartars, have made irruptions into the neighbouring territories, and impelled the inhabitants of them on the adjacent countries. From one of these irruptions, a powerful dynasty arose, which, from the seat of its empire at Ghizni, a city on the westernmost part of the Cowmul, one of the rivers which the Indus receives from the west, has been called the Ghiznevide.

Sebectagin, its founder, revolted from the king of Boucharia, one of the Mahometan princes, who raised themselves into power on the ruins of the caliphate. Mahmood, one of his sons, and the third in succession to him, subdued Hindustan, and established in it the religion of Mahomet, destroying, wherever his power extended, the temples and idols of the ancient religion - - - - - 391 | 1000

Year of the Hegira. | Year of Christ.

Kosrou Shaw, the last prince of the Ghiznevide race, was expelled by Hussain Gauri, a native of Gaur, a province lying to the north of Ghizni; from him, the dynasty of the Gaurides takes its appellation. Mahomet Gauri took Benares, the ancient seat of Braminical learning. 580 | 1184

"The death of Mahomet Gori," says Colonel Dow, "may, in some degree, be said to have put "an end to the empire of Ghizni. The unam- "bitious character of the surviving princes of the "family of Ghor, gave an opportunity to two of "the inferior slaves, to divide among them the "empire which Mahomet had been at so much "pains to acquire. Ildicur, or, as he is sometimes "called, Eldoze, kept possession of Ghizni and "the northern provinces; and Cuttub, the fa- "vourite friend, and faithful servant of the late "emperor, was already viceroy of the empire "over the conquests in India. From "Cuttub the Mahometan empire of 602 | 1205

" the Patans or Afghans in India commenced." The seat of their empire was Delhi. In the reign of Mahomet, the 2d prince of that name in the Patan or Afghan dynasty, Hindustan was invaded and subdued by Timour - - - - - 801 1398

He did not alter the succession: but Mahomet was the last prince of the family of the Gaurides; on his decease it devolved on Chizer, a seid, that is, one of the race of the prophet - - 816 1413

From his descendants, Belloli, an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, wrested the crown of Delhi, and transferred the seat of empire to Agra - - - 854 1450

Babar, Sultan of the Mogul Tartars, a descendant of Timour and Genghis-khan, put an end to the dynasty of Lodi, and obtained the empire, in - - 932 1525

From this time, the countries, which he and his successors subdued, including Hindustan and the Decan, were called the Mogul empire. His grandson Akber, was one of the most wise and powerful monarchs that ever filled a throne. He divided the empire into 11 soubahs; each of the soubahs into certain circars or counties, and each circar into certain purgunnahs or hundreds. He died in - - 1014 1605

He was succeeded by Jehanguire his son, and Jehanguire by Shaw Jehan. In

Year of the Hegira. Year of Christ.

the year 1658, the civil wars between Jehan and his sons, and between the sons themselves, first broke out: they terminated in the elevation of Aurengzebe. "He," says Mr. Adams, in his *Summary of Geography and History, both ancient and modern*, "raised the Mogul empire to the "highest pitch of splendor. His authority ex- "tended from the 10th to the 35th degree of "latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, con- "taining at least sixty-four millions of inhabitants; "and his revenue exceeded thirty-two millions of "pounds sterling, in a country where the pro- "ducts of the earth are at least four times as "cheap as in England. He died in 1707; but "the feeble princes who succeeded, "being unable to wield so weighty a "sceptre, the vast empire was, in the "course of fifty years, reduced to "nothing." - - - -

Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
1119	1707

The feelings of Aurengzebe, in the awful hour of dissolution, are thus described by Major Rennel, (*Introd. to his Memoir on the Map of Hindostan, lxiii. note.*) "Two "letters written by Aurengzebe to two of his sons, "a few days before his death, furnish this striking "lesson to frail mortality; that, however men "may forget themselves, during the tide of pros- "perity, a day of recollection will come sooner "or later. Here we are presented with the dying "confession of an aged monarch who made his

" way to the throne by the murder of his brethren " and the imprisonment of his father, and who, " after being in possession of it, persecuted the " most inoffensive part of his subjects, either " through bigotry or hypocrisy; here we behold " him, in the act of resigning that, to obtain pos- " session of which, he incurred his guilt, and " presented to us a mere sinful man, trembling " on the verge of eternity, equally deploring the " past and dreading the future. How awful must " his situation appear to him, when he says, " ' wherever I look, I see nothing but the " ' divinity!' "

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
Aurengzebe left four sons; on the ruin of them, Feroskeere, a nephew of Jehaunder, the eldest of them, obtained the throne - - - - - -	1125	1712
In his reign, the English East-India Company received the famous Firman or Grant, regarded as the Company's commercial charter in India, while they stood in need of protection from the princes of that country. Nadir Shah, after the conquest of the Persian empire, invaded and conquered Hindustan, in the reign of Mahomet Shah, a grandson of Shah Aulum. But Mahomet was left by him in possession of the throne, and died in -	1154	1741
With him, the Mogul empire may be said to have expired.		

IV. 7. This leads to the mention of the *Ottoman*

emperors. At a promontory of Lycia, in Minor Asia, a ridge of mountains begins, which, without much interruption, extends to the Eastern Ocean. In a general sense, the ancients gave it the name of the Taurus; but, in a more contracted sense, they gave the name of Taurus to that part of it which extends from Lycia to the part of Armenia, where the Euphrates rises. There, they supposed it was met by a chain of mountains, which, rising in a north-western point of the space between the Euxine and the Caspian, fills the intermediate country, and shuts up the Caspian on the South; that, they called the Caucasus; a remoter branch of it, extending to the easternmost of the rivers which flow into the Ganges, they called the Paropamisus, and its supposed extreme part the Emodus. The Imaus, or Caff, a point of these mountains between Samarcand and Cashgar, calculated, by Mr. Gibbon, to be at the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Caspian, the Icy, and the Bengal Seas, is the centre of them.

From the skirts of it the Turks, one of the most warlike of the tribes, which inhabited these mountains, issued towards the close of the sixth century, and by a succession of victories subdued an extensive territory on every side of their native mountains. But they soon lost all their eastern conquests, and were driven from their original settlements near the Imaus: large bodies

Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
184	800

of them then settled in the country beyond the Gihon or the Oxus, the Sogdiana and Bactriana of the ancients, the Turkestan of the Turks and Tartars, and the great Boucharia of European geographers. Seljuk, the leader of one of their tribes, embraced Mahometanism, and by his valour and the valour of his grandson Togrul Bey, became the head of a dynasty, which reigned from the Caspian Sea to Damascus, from the Indus to the Gulph of Persia. On the death of Malek Shah, the great nephew of Togrul Bey, (1052), the possessions of the Seljukian dynasty were divided, after a bloody contest, into the three independent dynasties of Iconium, Aleppo and Persia. On the death of Aladin, the Sultan of Iconium, Othman, the generalissimo of his troops, usurped his throne, and laid the foundation of the empire of the Ottoman Turks; to him Bajazet was third in succession.

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
dynasty, which reigned from the Cas-	545	1150

He obtained from the caliph, who, as it has been mentioned, then lived in a humble situation in Egypt, a patent to be Sultan of Roum, or the territories of Romania, Greece and Thrace. After many victories over the Mahometans in Asia Minor, and over the Christians in their remaining territories in Europe, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Timour, at the battle of Angora - - - - - 805 1402

Soliman the 1st, a son of Bajazet,

escaped from the battle of Angora, and restored the splendor of the Ottoman throne. It arrived at its highest glory under Mahomet the 2d, by his conquest of Constantinople and the Morea, and his numerous victories from the Adriatic to the Euphrates - 857 | 1453

Still the dignity of caliph was wanting to the Ottoman princes, as it resided in the caliphs of Egypt, the descendants of Mostanzer Billah. But Mahomet the 12th, Ebn Dgiafer, made a formal renunciation of it in favour of Selim the 1st, and, at the same time, the sheriff of Mecca presented him, on a silver plate, with the keys of the Caaba or square house at Mecca - - - - - - 923 | 1517

It is a fundamental maxim, in the religion and politics of the disciples of Mahomet, that the Imam should be of the blood of the Coreysh, either in the race of Hasheim or the race of Ali. Both the caliph, and the sheriff, at the time of this event, were Coreysh; the former, descending from Hasheim, the latter, from Ali.

Their cession of their rights to Selim is considered to have transmitted them to the Ottoman princes, and to have fully supplied, in their favour, the want of heritable blood.

The glory of the Ottoman house shone with undiminished splendor, till the death of Soliman the magnificent. Since that time, it has almost

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
always been on the decline, and now appears to touch the moment of its dissolution - - - - -	922	1566

V.

With respect to THE IRRUPTIONS OF THE MOGUL TARTARS, UNDER GENGHISKHAN AND TIMOUR, INTO THE ASIATIC TERRITORIES CONQUERED BY THE DISCIPLES OF MAHOMET:

To obtain an accurate knowledge of them, it may be found useful to go back very far.

The real geography of the Greeks did not extend, in the north-eastern parts of Asia, much beyond the Imaus or Caff: the geography of the Romans extended further; but they little thought that the Chinese monarchy contained a greater empire than their own; and neither Greeks nor Romans suspected, that the north of Asia and Europe, from Japan to the Tanais, was filled with tribes, from whom their future conquerors would issue. Of these the Huns were the most powerful. Early in the Christian æra, several of the most warlike and powerful of their tribes emigrated to the West; some of them established themselves on the eastern side of the Caspian, others on the eastern side of the Volga. The latter, about the beginning of the 4th century, passed the Tanais and subdued the Alani. In little more than half a century, first on the Niester, and afterwards on the Danube, they subdued the Goths; the three nations then

united, and, being joined by other barbarous tribes of Hunnish extraction, obtained, in 378, at the battle of Adrianople, a victory over the Romans, from which, as has been already mentioned, the empire of the West never recovered. Towards the middle of the following century, Attila, who claimed regal descent from the heads of some of the noblest tribes of the Huns, became sovereign both of Germany and Scythia, and was a formidable enemy to every sovereign from China to Gaul: his camp, when he was stationary, was on the northern side of the Danube, between the Teiss and the Carpathian mountains; his empire extended 7000 miles; but probably it did not contain as many towns as may be found within a circle drawn round Bruxelles, at an equal distance from it of 50 miles.

By his decease his empire was dissolved: insensibly the Huns were melted down into the nations which they conquered; and, if the modern Hungarians be excepted, whose descent from them, is rather a plausible conjecture, than an historical fact supported by conclusive evidence, few vestiges of them are now discoverable, either in Europe or Asia.

Hitherto the inroads of the northern nations is a subject remotely connected with the history of Mahomet and his followers.

But the tide of emigration from the North continuing to flow, the spacious tracts of land which

were left vacant by the first emigrations, were occupied by tribes of the same descent, and those impelled the first invaders on the countries conquered by the Saracens.

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
In 1176 Gengis the Khan, or head of the Mogul Tartars, settled on the north of China. His four sons made various conquests in China, Transoxania, Syria, Asia Minor, Poland, Hungary and Siberia.	572	1176

Kara-Korum, called Holim, at the mouth of the Onguin in Kalkas Tartary, was the seat of the empire of Gengis and his immediate successors. On his decease, Octai, his son, was proclaimed his successor. Houlagou Khan, the dethroner of the caliph Mostassem, was the grandson of Octai, and great-grandson and fifth in succession to Gengis.

Soon after the death of Gengis, the greatest part of his successors and their subjects, adopted the Mahometan religion. Samarcand in Boucharia was their residence. On the death of Abousaid, the 13th prince of that dynasty, several competitors claimed the throne, and threw the whole kingdom into confusion. Here the Gengiskhanidan dynasty is considered to expire - 736 | 1335

The house of Timour rose on its ruins. Timour Beg, or, as he is generally called, Tamerlan, was of a noble family in Samarcand, related by females to the house of Gengis. He was the founder of the most extensive empire

that has yet been known, extending from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian gulph, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago. In his palace at Samarcand, he blended the Scythian festivities of Attila and Gengis with the splendor of the Ottoman court; the former predominated, but at the distance of 300 years they disappeared, in the moving camp of Aurengzebe.

Year of the Hegira	Year of Christ.
807	1404

Throughout the vast territories we have mentioned, Gengis and Timour were the scourge of every Christian and Mahometan state which invited or resisted their ambition; but, with this difference, that the private religion of Gengis was the purest deism; and that, in every part of his dominions, he established the most unlimited toleration of religious opinion; but Timour was a bigoted Mahometan, and scarcely allowed the Christians the choice, offered them by the Koran, of tribute or death.

VI.

With respect to THE ATTEMPTS OF THE PRINCES OF CHRISTENDOM TO REPEL THE MAHOMETANS:

VI. 1. The principal of these from the nature of their object, have been called *Crusades*. The first was, in - - - 490 | 1096

The crusaders took the city of Jerusalem, in - - - - - 493 | 1099

Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king of Palestine, but, from humility, refused the name of royalty, and assumed the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. With the advice of the most distinguished of his followers, he composed for the government of the new state a code of laws. When Jerusalem was retaken from the Christians, the code was lost; all the written fragments which remained of it, and all that had been preserved of it by tradition, were collected together in the middle of the 13th century, by John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Baruth and Rames. A further revision of it was made, in 1369, for the use of the kingdom of Cyprus, by sixteen commissioners in the states of the island; and was published under the title of *Assizes de Jerusalem.*

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
The 2d crusade was promoted by the exhortations of Saint Bernard, and supported by the emperor Conrade the 3d, and the French king, Lewis the 7th	542	1147
The 3d was undertaken in 1189. It is remarkable for the feuds between our Richard the first, and Philip Augustus of France	585	1189
The 4th was undertaken, in	600	1203
By a strange fatality, the crusaders gave up their object for the conquest of the Greek empire, and, in 1204, they took Constantinople	601	1204

	Year of the Hegira.	Year of Christ.
The 5th crusade was conducted by several German princes, under Andrew king of Hungary - - - -	615	1218
St. Lewis was at the head of the 6th and 7th crusades, in 1248 and 1270; and illustrated them by his piety, valour and misfortunes.	649	1248

The brilliant æra of the Christian empire in the East, may be fixed towards the end of the 12th century. Their empire then extended from the Euphrates to Tyre. Hemms, Damascus and Aleppo, were almost the only places of importance within that extensive territory which remained to the Mahometans. All the Christian princes professed to hold their territories of the king of Jerusalem. The principal of them were the kings of Cyprus, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli, the lords of Ibelin, Barout, Jaffa, Tiberias, Cesarea, Tyre, Napoulous, and Basan, the counts of Edessa, the lords of Heraclea, Margat, Adelon, Maugastears, Caiphas or Hapha, Memars and Morf. By degrees, the Christians lost the whole of their conquests; Jerusalem was taken from them in 1187.

St. John of Acre then became the metropolis of the Latin Christians of the East, and was taken from them in 1291 (A. H. 690).

Till the taking of the island of Rhodes by the Turks, the bishop of that island was primate of all

the Egæan islands. On that event, the primacy was transferred to the archbishop of Naxos. Several christian families of distinction inhabit that island: they are all the remains of the ancient families of France, Spain, and Italy, who established themselves in Greece and Syria, in consequence of the victories of the crusaders in the East.

VI. 2. To the crusades, several *religious and military orders* owe their rise. Some time before the first crusade, an hospital was established at Jerusalem, for the relief of the poor pilgrims who resorted there. In 1100, Gerard, the director of it, and his companions, professed themselves members of the order of St. Benedict, and formed a congregation, under the name of St. John the Baptist. It was approved by pope Paschal the 2d. In 1113, Raymond du Puy, the successor of Gerard, divided the order into three classes; to the nobles, he assigned the profession of arms, for the defence of the faith and the protection of pilgrims; the ecclesiastics were to exercise their religious functions for the benefit of the order; the lay-brothers were to take care of the pilgrims and the sick. These regulations were approved by pope Calixtus the 2d; and the order then took the name of Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. After the loss of the Holy Land, they retired to Cyprus; thence to Rhodes: in 1522, that island was taken from them, by Soliman the great: Malta was then given them by the emperor

Charles the fifth; from that time they have generally been known by the appellation of *Knights of Malta.*

The order of *Knights Templars* was established nearly about the same time, and for the same purposes, as that of the Knights of Malta. They took their name from a monastery given them by Baldwin the second king of Jerusalem, which immediately adjoined the temple in his palace. They were suppressed by the council of Vienne, in 1312. Few events in history are more singular than that of their dissolution: the enormities of which they were accused exceed belief, and it seems difficult to impute them generally to the order; on the other hand, they appear to have had the very fairest trial.

The *Teutonick order* was founded on the model of that of the Knights Templars. It was confirmed by pope Celestine in 1191. The knights conquered Prussia in 1230, and fixed the head seat of the order at Marienburgh. In 1525, the grand master embraced the protestant religion: since which time the head seat of the order has been at Margentheim, in Franconia.

The original object of the *order of St. Lazarus,* was to take care of persons infected with leprosy; in the course of time it became a military order; the whole body returned with St. Lewis, into Europe in 1254. Afterwards it was united, in France, with the order of our Lady of Mount

Carmel, and in Savoy, with the order of St. Maurice. All these orders displayed heroic acts of valour in the enterprizes of the crusaders to recover the Holy Land.

VI. 3. The first *victory* of importance which, after the crusades, the Christian princes gained over the Ottomans, was at the sea-fight of Lepanto. In about a century afterwards the Turks invaded Hungary, with an army of 200,000 men, and laid siege to Vienna; John Sobieski, the king of Poland, at the head of 50,000 men, attacked their camp and obtained a complete victory over them, in 1689.

Since that time, however Christendom may lament the extent of the territory of the Mahometan princes, she has had no cause of terror from the success of their arms.

VII.

With respect to THE RELIGIOUS TENETS AND LITERARY HISTORY OF THE MAHOMETANS:

VII. 1. In the same manner as the word "Christendom" is used as a general denomination for all the countries inhabited by the nations who profess the religion of Christ, the word *Islam* is a general denomination for the countries inhabited by the nations who profess the religion of Mahomet. It signifies an absolute submission of mind and body to God, and to the revelation he has made of his divine will by Mahomet, his

prophet. Thus the fundamental creed of Mahomet is described in two articles, "there is but one "God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God." His precepts are reduced to four: prayer, preceded by purification as a necessary preparation; fasting; alms; and a pilgrimage, once at least in a life, to the temple of Mecca. His disciples are taught to expect a day of resurrection and general judgment: they believe the doom of infidels will be everlasting punishment, to be measured by the degree of their moral guilt and obstinacy in rejecting the evidence offered them of Islamism; but that all believers, by their faith in God, and through the intercession of Mahomet, will be admitted to everlasting felicity; that, while the felicity of the perfect, as the saints and martyrs, will be the enjoyment of a superlative degree of intellectual pleasure, the general body of Musselmauns will be blessed with an abundance of sensual enjoyments. They believe in God's absolute decrees, and the predetermination both of good and evil; in the existence of angels, whom they consider to be ministers of the Word of God, pure and subtile spirits, propagated of fire. They believe, that, from the beginning, there has been a series of prophets; that all of them were free from great sins and even great errors; and that six of them, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mahomet, rising in a gradation of merit, the latter always above the former, brought new dispensations of law from

heaven; that each, successively, abrogated the preceding; that many of the prophets received from God himself, revelations in writing of his divine will, all of which are lost, except the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel and the Koran; that the three first are miserably corrupted and falsified; that the last is divinely inspired, every word, every letter of it being uncreated and incorruptible, and subsisting, through eternity, in the essence of the Deity; that God himself, by his angel Gabriel, delivered it to Mahomet his last prophet, his high priest in spiritual concerns, his supreme prince in temporals, and who, by himself or his successors, is, by the supernatural, and consequently irresistible force of his arms, to establish in every kingdom of the world, the saving doctrine of the Koran. Circumcision is not mentioned in the Koran; but it is practised as a divine institution, revealed by Abraham to Mahomet. Two places the Musselmauns hold in particular veneration: one the temple of Mecca; it contains the Caaba or square house, which has been mentioned. To the temple of Mecca every Mahometan directs his look when he prays, and this supposed aspect of it, they call the *Kebla*. The other object of their veneration is the temple at Medina, where the prophet preached and was buried. Such are the principal tenets and rites of the Mahometans, but the only necessary article of faith, the only article required to be professed by a Musselmaun, is the unity of God, and the divine mission of Mahomet.

Having pronounced the words, "I believe in one "God, and in Mahomet the apostle of God," the proselyte is considered to be a perfect Musselmaun. They look on unbelievers with contempt and abhorrence; but the Magians, as followers of Abraham, the Jews, as followers of Moses, and the Christians, as followers of Christ, are ranked by them, far above polytheists, idolaters and atheists. In opposition to those, they call the Magians, Jews and Christians, from the written revelations they suppose to have been made to them, by Abraham, Moses and Christ, the people of the written law.

The early caliphs condemned polytheists, idolaters and atheists to the alternative of death, or the profession of Islamism, but the people of the written law were always allowed the alternative of professing Islamism, or purchasing liberty of conscience by paying tribute; and insensibly the last alternative was generally proposed to every enemy.

The followers of Mahomet have ascribed to him both miracles and prophecies. His miracles have been said to amount to 3000, but he does not appear to have himself claimed a power of working miracles. The wonderful success of his arms, he urged as a proof of his divine mission, and contended, that none but God himself could produce a work, which should equal the Koran, in grandeur of conception, in beauty or sublimity of doctrine, or in richness or elegance of language.

VII. 2. The revelation of *the Koran*, by

Mahomet's account, was made to him in parcels, and at different times. From his dictation they were taken down in writing by his scribe. Abu Becre, his immediate successor, caused a transcript of them to be carefully made, and deposited it with Hafsa, one of the prophet's widows. It was frequently copied. In the 30th year of the Hegira, the caliph Othman observing there was a great multitude of various readings in the copies, caused several copies to be made, with extreme care, of the examplar deposited by Abu Becre with Hafsa. In imitation of the masoritical labours of the Jews, the Mahometans have computed every word and every letter of the Koran, and introduced vowel points, which ascertain both its pronunciation and meaning. "The general doctrine of the Koran," says Golius, in *Append. ad Gram. Erp.* p. 176, (as he is translated by Mr. Sale), "seems to be, "to unite the professors of the three different "religions, then followed in the populous country "of Arabia, who, for the most part, lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far "greater part being idolaters, and the rest Jews "and Christians, mostly of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of "one, eternal, indivisible God, by whose power "all things were made, and those which are not, "may be; the sole supreme Judge and absolute "Lord of the creation, established under the "sanction of certain laws, and the outward sign

" of certain ceremonies partly of ancient and " partly of novel institution, and enforced by " setting before them rewards and punishments " both eternal and temporal, and to bring them " all to the obedience of Mahomet, as the prophet " and ambassador of God, who, after repeated " admonitions, prophecies and threats of former " ages, was, at last, to establish and propagate " God's religion on earth by force of arms, and " to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual " matters, as well as supreme prince in temporals." The divine revelations were, according to Mahomet, to end with himself; and in him, the seal of prophecy was to be closed for ever. Frequent mention is made in the Koran of the histories contained in the Old Testament, of those particularly, which show the judgments of God on unbelievers and impugners of his holy word; but Mahomet appears to have taken his scriptural history rather from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and heterodox Christians, with whom Arabia abounded in his time, than from the canonical writings which compose the Bible. (See *Alcoranus ex variis collectus tum fontibus, tum paludibus, Compend. Theatr. Oriental,* p. 20.) The Koran contains also many legal and civil ordinances, as the prohibition of certain meats, wine and usury; some, that respect the payment of debts, the laws of heirship, wills, legacies, oaths, widows, divorces, marriages, murder, fornication, adultery, theft:

but the greatest part of it turns on the obligation of making war against unbelievers, with the most splendid promises to those who fight against them, and the most dreadful threats against those who refuse. The duty of alms-giving and general benevolence is inculcated in the strongest terms. It seems generally admitted that the style is pure and elegant: it is, however, allowed by the Arabs themselves that this is not entirely the case, and that there are different dialects in the Koran. (See *Ahmed Ibn Edris*, p. 280). It contains many passages of great sublimity; but, as Mr. Gibbon justly observes, "the harmony and copiousness of style, will not, in a version, reach the "European infidel; he will peruse, with impatience, the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, "precept and declamation, which seldom excites "a sentiment or idea, which sometimes crawls "in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. "The divine attributes exalt the fancy of an "Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must "yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of "Job, composed in a remote age, in the same "country, and in the same language." The Koran consists of 114 sections, called in the original, suras. They are distinguished by titles, but are not numbered, and are divided into smaller portions. Seven principal exemplars have been made of the Koran; two at Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa; a fifth at Bassorah, and

a sixth in Syria; the seventh is the exemplar from which the common editions are taken. The Mahometans themselves have translated it into the Persic, Malayan, Javan and Turkish languages. Reineccius, (*Historia Alcorani Leipsiæ*, 1721), says, that the most beautiful manuscripts of the Koran, are (1st) one preserved in the Museum Kircherianum at Rome, supposed to have been used by Soliman the great; (2d) one, in the library of Christiana of Sweden; (3d) one, in the library at Vienna; and (4th), one with a commentary by Abi Saidi Rades, which, at the defeat of the Turks, in 1683, George the then Elector of Saxony, found among the spoils of the battle. But there are others, (some of which are in England), of exquisite beauty. The first edition of the entire work in the Arabic was published by Paganinus of Brescia, at Venice, in 1530; but the whole edition, by the pope's order, was committed to the flames. It was afterwards printed by Hinckelmen, at Hamburgh, in 1684. Father Lewis Maracci, a clerk regular, by the order of Innocent the 11th, published the original, with a translation and full refutation, in 1698. An edition of the Arabic Koran in folio, with a Scholia in the same language, was printed at Petersburg, by order of the late Empress of Russia, for the use of her Mahometan subjects: on account of the general prejudice of the Mahometans against printed books, she had the types so cast, as to give to the impression the

appearance of a manuscript. Other editions have been promised; but none of them, to the writer's knowledge, has yet been published. The first version by a Christian, was that, which Peter Abbot of Cluni procured to be made in 1143; it was published by Bibliander in 1550; Maracci's translation of it is highly praised. A correct edition of it, with notes and an introduction, was published by Reinneccius, in 1721: of the translations into modern languages, none is to be compared to Mr. Sale's. His learned and judicious preface is universally admired.

VII. 3. *The religious sects*, into which the Mahometans are divided, are very numerous. Four of them are esteemed orthodox, and each of those has its particular station, in the temple of Mecca. They are called *Sonnites* or *Traditionists*, because they admit the authority of the Sonna, or collection of traditions, made by the disciples of Mahomet, respecting his sayings, his actions, and even his silence on certain occasions, from which they suppose important inferences may be drawn. They also admit the authority of the *Idjma-y-umeth*, or the glosses and legal decisions of the apostles, and first disciples of the prophet; particularly the four first caliphs; and the *Keyass*, or collection of canonical decisions, made by the Imams-mudjhtihhids, or interpreters of the first ages of Islamism. All the other sects are considered as heretics.

The general body of Mahometans call them

Shiites; but under that appellation, they particularly understand the sectaries of Ali, the 4th of the caliphs. He was the cousin of Mahomet, and married Fatima, his youngest and favourite daughter. On the death of Mahomet, his relationship to the prophet and his personal merit gave him powerful claims to the vacant throne; but, through the authority of Omar, it was conferred on Abubecre: he bequeathed it to Omar; and, on his death, it was filled by Othman. He was the third of the caliphs, and, on his decease, Ali was advanced to the office. We have seen that, after a reign of five years, Ali was assassinated; that his son, at the end of six months, was compelled to resign; that the throne was usurped by Moaviah, the first of the Ommyades, and that he made it hereditary in his family. But numerous bodies of Mahometans retained a partiality for Ali, and his descendants. The three first caliphs, they consider as usurpers: they place Ali on a line, or nearly on a line with Mahomet; and, to the original creed of the Mahometans, "there is only "one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God," they add the article, that, "Ali is the vicar of "Mahomet." This is the subject of political discord between the Shiites and Sonnites, or the sectaries of Ali, and the sectaries of Omar: the principal points of difference in their religious creed, are, that the sectaries of Ali reject the Sonna and all other traditions, and profess an

exclusive attachment to the Koran; and that they believe, that the Immameth or sacerdotal supremacy devolved, at Mahomet's decease, to Ali, and passed from him, in a regular course of male descent, to the 12th and last Imam, who still lives, and, at the second coming of Christ, will give him a joint testimony with the prophet Elias. As the Shiites, in their political tenets, adhere to Ali, the Sonnites, in their politics, adhere to Omar. This is the grand schism in the history of Mahometanism. In every age, in every country subject to the disciples of Mahomet, it has been the subject of sedition and civil war. In Egypt, in Spain and in Africa, the descendants of Ali have often reigned: they now reign in Persia, in most parts of the Mahometan territories beyond the Gihon, and in several of the Mahometan principalities in India. Religious controversy has never been carried on with more fury, or religious war with more cruelty, than in the controversies and wars between the sectaries of Ali and Omar. Each sect anathematizes the other, and believes there is more merit in putting one person of the opposite sect to death, than in destroying seventy Christians.

VII. 4. The Turkish, the Persic, the Armenian and the Arabic are *the chief languages used by the Mahometans.* The original Turkish is said to be a poor and inharmonious language, and to be used only by the lowest class of subjects. The Persic language is much cultivated by the Turks

who pretend to taste or elegance. The Arabic is almost a necessary language to a Mahometan, as it is the language of the Koran, and all the early writings of the followers of Mahomet. The modern Turkish is the language of the court, and of all persons of education. All the emperor's edicts, and all the edicts of his ministers, are written in that language. The Chevalier d'Ohsson, in his splendid work, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, says it is a noble and harmonious language.

VII. 5. The dynasty of the Abassides introduced *learning among the disciples of Mahomet*; and, while the rest of Europe was destitute of polite literature, and the greatest part of it sunk in ignorance and barbarism, the arts and sciences flourished from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The royal library of the Fatimites at Cairo contained above 100,000 manuscripts: 600,000 are said to have existed in the Islamitic libraries in Spain: "Cordova," to use Mr. Gibbon's words, "with the adjacent towns of Malaga, "Almeria, and Murcia, gave birth to more than "300 writers, and above 70 public libraries were "open in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. "The age of Arabian learning continued about "500 years, till the great irruption of the Moguls, "and was coeval with the darkest and most sloth-"ful period of European annals; but, since the "sun of science has arisen in the West, it should

" seem that the oriental studies have languished " and declined." Still, however, the protection and encouragement of literature is a declared object of the Ottoman government. In all great towns each mosque has one, and sometimes two colleges belonging to it: they are called Medresses. From these the principal officers of church and state are taken. Most of the mosques in the great cities of the empire have public libraries; Constantinople alone, according to the Chevalier d'Ohsson, contains 35: and each of them holds from 1,000 to 2,500 volumes, bound in red, green or black morocco, inclosed in a morocco case; each library is furnished with a catalogue. The seraglio has two libraries. They may contain many Latin, Greek and oriental manuscripts: Europe, at different times, has been flattered with the hope of discovering in them the original gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew, all the decades of Livy, and all the books of Diodorus Siculus. This, however, is mere conjecture. About the year 1726, printing was introduced into Constantinople. The Muphti and the principal Oulemas solemnly pronounced it to be a lawful and useful institution, and a royal edict was published authorizing Said Essendi and Basmadjy Ibrahim, the former a clerk in the customs, the latter an Hungarian renegado, to print any works, except the Koran, the Hadis, (or oral laws of the prophet), the commentaries on them, and works of jurisprudence. The patentees printed

jointly ten different works. Afterwards Basmadjy Ibrahim printed ten on his own account, and two great charts, one of the Black, the other of the Caspian sea. He was a man of talents, and an enthusiast in his endeavours to introduce the arts and sciences of Europe among the Turks. He was patronized by the Porte, and was presented with a military fief, and a pension of ninety-nine aspars, or half farthings of our money, a day. His death suspended the labours of the Turkish press: it was revived by an edict of the Porte in 1784, and was resumed by the publication of an history of the Ottoman empire: it was completed in three volumes, and finishes with the death of Abdul Hamed in 1788.

VIII.

With respect to THE EXTENT OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE MAHOMETANISM IS PROFESSED:

On the North, it has been carried to the point, where the Ouralian and Altai mountains meet: thence it may be traced, over little Bucharia, to the southernmost point of Hindustan: and thence in a south-easterly direction, to Goram, (a small island between Ceram and Papua or New Guinea), in which there are not fewer than eight mosques. It is also spread over every country from the Hellespont to the Indus, and from the Arabian to the Persian Gulph; it is professed on each side of the Nile; and in the west of Africa, the line

between the Mahometans and Pagans, according to Mr. Park, extends up the river Senegal, to St. Joseph or Galam, lat. 14. 20; and thence in a waving line, it proceeds to and includes Tombuctoo. In the east of Africa, it is professed in part of Madagascar, and the opposite shores.

The Mahometans have lost Spain; and, on the north, their progress has been checked by the propagation of Christianity in Siberia; but, in the middle and lower Asia it has always been gaining ground; so that, speaking generally, from the commencement of the Hegira to the present time, Mahometanism has always been on the increase.

Such is the general view of the actual extent of Mahometanism, it naturally leads to a view of its most important part,—the Ottoman empire. That is divided into the portion of it, which lies in Asia; that, which lies in Africa, and that which lies in Europe. Turkey in Asia lies between the 27th and 46th degrees of east longitude, and the 28th and 45th of north latitude. It is bounded by the Black Sea and Circassia on the north, by the Red Sea, Arabia, and the Persian Gulph on the south, and by the Archipelago, the Hellespont and the Propontis on the west. Turkey in Africa is confined to Egypt; that part of the Ottoman empire lies between the 20th and 32d degrees of north latitude, and the 28th and 36th degrees of east longitude. It is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, on the south by Abyssinia, on

the east by the Red Sea, and on the west by the desart of Barca, and by some unknown parts of Africa.

The European part of the Ottoman empire lies between the 16th and 41st degree of east longitude, and between the 36th and 50th degree of north latitude. It fills the space between Russia, Poland and Sclavonia on the north; and the Mediterranean on the south; the Austrian and Venetian territories, and the Gulph of Venice front it on the west; the Black Sea, the sea of Marmora and the Archipelago, on the east. It contains many islands; the principal of them are Negropont or the ancient Eubœa, Rhodes, Candia, Cyprus, Santorin, Samos, the Cyclades, and a cluster of islands in the Ionian Sea, among which is the Isola del Compare, the ancient Ithaca. The present condition of this noble and ample territory, once dignified by science and valour, and once the fairest portion of the Christian world, is thus described by Sir George Sandys, in his dedication to his travels:—"Large territories dispeopled, or "thinly inhabited; goodly cities made desolate, "sumptuous buildings become ruins; glorious tem- "ples either subverted or prostituted to impiety; "true religion discountenanced or oppressed; "all nobility extinguished; no light of learning "permitted nor virtue cherished; violence and "rapine exulting over all, and leaving no security, "save to an abject mind and unlooked on poverty."

How very different have been the effects of Christianity, on the countries into which it has been introduced!

The rapid progress of Mahometanism naturally brings to mind the rapid progress of Christianity, and invites to a comparison of the two religions: but a single fact throws Mahometanism out of the scale. Each founder of these religions claimed a divine mission: to prove the divinity of *his* mission, Christ appealed to the prophets who foretold *him*, and to the miracles *he* wrought: if he produced the prophets and worked the miracles, he *could not* be an impostor. Mahomet neither pretended to have been foretold by prophets nor to work miracles; he rested the proof of *his* divine mission solely on the success of his arms, and the sublimity of the doctrine and language of the Koran; but his arms *might* be most successful, and the doctrine and language of the Koran *might* be most sublime, and still Mahoment *might* be an impostor. Thus Christ offered the very fairest proof of his divine mission; Mahomet offered none of his:—the conclusion is obvious.

IX.

It remains to MAKE SOME MENTION OF THE AUTHORS FROM WHOSE WRITINGS THE PRECEDING SHEETS HAVE BEEN COMPILED. Not a page of them was written till all that M. de Guignes, M. d'Herbelot, and Mr. Gibbon have

said on the subject of it, had been repeatedly considered. The *Histoire Générale des Huns*, &c. by the first of these writers, will be an eternal monument of the depth and extent of his researches; but it is lawful to express a wish, that, for the information of his common readers, he had accompanied it with a particular account of the authors he consulted, and his own opinions of their character and value: for want of this information, notwithstanding all the respect due to M. de Guignes, it is impossible not to read parts of his work without some degree of scepticism. His valuable essays on various subjects of oriental literature dispersed through the *Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, are entitled to a high degree of praise. Of *d'Herbelot's Dictionary* there is but one opinion. The merits and defects of Mr. *Gibbon's History* are in no part of his work more discernible than in his account of the Saracens. Few of his readers come prepared, with much previous knowledge of the subject, to the perusal of that part of his work, which, to use his own expression, gives an account of the fleeting dynasties of the caliphs. There, of course, his style of allusion, if it may be so called, was singularly improper; and, in no other part of his work, are his prejudices against Christianity, more frequently, or more boldly expressed; but his consummate knowledge of geography, his general and curious learning, his

vigour and exquisite felicity of expression, occur in every page. In a note, (vol. v. p. 242, n. 55.) he observes, after Voltaire, the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad: between the rapid march of Islamism, and the rapid march of French Democracy, the resemblance is not less striking. In each may be found the same zeal to propagate the tenets of their sect, the same thirst of plunder, the same ardour of destruction, the same enthusiasm, and the same patient and adventurous courage: in each, instead of waiting, like the Romans, to subdue one enemy, before another was provoked, an attack was made, almost in one instant, on the greatest part of the civilized world; in neither, the dissensions of the chiefs retarded, for a moment, the progress of their soldiers. When we read Abu Becre's circular letter, "In the "name of God. To all true believers; this is to "acquaint you, that I intend to send the true "believers into Syria, to take it from the hands of "the infidels,"—it is impossible not to think of the Great Nation, sending forth her Sans-Culottes to plant the tree of liberty.—On every subject of geography, the author consulted *d'Anville*: the supreme merit of that excellent writer is not too strongly expressed by Mr. Gibbon, when he calls him the incomparable d'Anville; yet it may be confidently asserted, that, on subjects of ancient geography, Cellarius may still be usefully consulted; and that England may justly be proud of

the geographical eminence of Major Rennell; his map of Hindustan and the memoir which accompanies it, are invaluable; his *Geography of Herodotus* is still more curious, and only less useful, because it illustrates the ancient, not the modern world.—The author has also to confess great geographical obligations to Dr. Forster's *Northern Travels*, and to the *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Antients had of India*, with which *Dr. Robertson*, with so much honour, closed his literary career. In ancient chronology he generally followed *Archbishop Usher*; in modern, the Benedictine authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*, the work of the greatest learning which appeared in the last century. In his account of ancient Persia, he availed himself of what has been written on the subject, by *Sir William Ouseley* and *Sir William Jones*: and on that, and many other occasions, he consulted the *Antient Universal History*, a work of great merit, and perhaps not sufficiently valued: when the troubles in Flanders first broke out, a translation of it into the French language was in contemplation, and gave rise to the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, 8vo. 1780, of Abbé Mann; which, if a new edition of it should be thought of, will be found to deserve attention. In his account of Africa, the author found *Chenier's Recherches Historiques sur les Maures* very useful: in his short account of the

irruptions of the barbarians into the Roman empire, he found much valuable information compressed into a narrow space, in the *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe dans le moyen age, by M. Koch, Strasburgh*, 1790, 2 vol. 8vo. On the heterodox opinions on the subject of the Trinity and Incarnation he consulted the *Dogmata Theologica* of *Petavius*, a work which has extorted the praise of Mr. Gibbon.

The author's account of the early state of Arabia, and the early part of Mahomet's life, was taken from *Niebuhr*, from the *Memoire sur l'etablissement de la religion et de l'empire de Mahomet*, of M. *Bréquigny*, in the 32d volume of the *Memoires des Inscriptions*, and from a *Dissertation of M. de Boisy, de l'Idolâtrie d'Abraham, avant sa vocation*, published with his other Dissertations in two octavo volumes, Paris, 1785. On these subjects he also consulted Mr. *Sale*, in praise of whom too much cannot be said; *Volney* and *Savary* have little more than copied or translated him; and he availed himself of *Professor White*'s elegant and eloquent sermons. What is said on the conquests made by Mahomet and his companions, is taken from Mr. *Ockley's History of the Saracens*;—that a person, of so much learning, should have been permitted to languish within the walls of a prison, was a disgrace to England, and a general misfortune to the republic of letters. The author's

account of the universal caliphs was extracted from *Marigny's Histoire des Arabes*, a work which answered the author's purpose, but which would not suffice for a writer, who should wish to enter more fully into the subject.

The mention of the caliph Walid's order, that the Arabic should be substituted in the place of every other language through the whole territory of the caliphate, led the author to give some attention to a subject, which opens a new and ample field of discussion,—the influence of conquest on language. Six events in history will be found to deserve the particular consideration of any person who shall engage in it; the Macedonian, Roman, and Saracen conquests; the emigration of the Sclavonian tribes; the general use of the French language in consequence of the victories of Lewis the fourteenth, and the literary merit of the writers of his reign; and the probability of English becoming the popular idiom of the whole Western hemisphere.

What is said on the Mahometan dynasties in Persia and Egypt is taken from D'Herbelot and Volney; Mr. Gibbon observes, we are amused by Savary, and instructed by Volney; but over Volney, Savary has the advantage of understanding the Arabic originals. The *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la domination des Arabes*, and the *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, furnished the author with what he

has said on the Mahometan dynasties in Africa and Spain. The account of the Mahometan conquests in Hindustan is taken from *Colonel Dow's History of Hindustan*, *Mr. Orme's Introduction to his History of Hindustan*, and *Major Rennell's Introduction to his Memoir:* where the author found these writers differ, he preferred the last. His account of the Ottoman empire is chiefly taken from the *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ottomane*, par M. de la Croix. M. de Guignes and Mr. Gibbon left him little to desire on the subjects of Genghiskhan and Timour. On the crusades, he did not look beyond *L'Esprit des Croisades*, and *Vertot*. A good history of them is much wanted: that part of Mr. Gibbon's history which treats of them, is the worst executed portion of his work. The account of the literary history of the Ottoman empire, is taken from the *Abbé Toderini's View of Turkish Literature*, and the *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman of the Chevalier d'Ohsson*, a splendid and useful work.

The preceding pages may be found to contain some account of the religion of Mahomet, and of the conquests made by him and his disciples: the following may be found to give some notion of the books accounted sacred, in the infidel countries conquered by them, and some particulars respecting the EDDA, the book supposed to have been accounted sacred by the ancient Scandinavians.

THE ZEND-AVESTA.

1. FOLLOWING the progress of the Mahometan arms in the East, we cross the Persian Gulph, and reach the country of the ZEND-AVESTA, the supposed Bible of the ancient Persians.

The religion of the ancient Persians has been discussed by many modern writers of profound learning. One of the earliest works on the subject, is *Lord's History of the Persees*, 4to. *London*, 1630. Mr. *Thomas Stanley's valuable treatises on the Chaldaic, Persian, and Sabian doctrines*, form a part of his History of Philosophy, and have been printed separately. The writings of Dr. *Pococke*, particularly his *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, and his edition of *Abul-Farajus*, abound with much information on the subject. But the most learned work upon it, which has yet made its appearance, is Dr. *Hyde's Historia Veterum Persarum*, published at Oxford, first in one volume 4to, in 1700, afterwards, with additions, in two volumes 4to, 1767. A concise, but clear view of the subject, is inserted by Dr. *Prideaux*, in the 4th book of the first part of his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament:* it gave rise to a learned correspondence between him and Mr. Moyle his nephew, published in the second volume of the works of the latter. Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, and

Brucker's *Historia Philosophiæ*, throw much light on this, and every other branch of Eastern literature. In the 25th vol. of the *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, may be found the first of the Memoires, which compose the Abbé Foucher's *Traité Historique de la Religion des Perses*; the others appeared in the subsequent volumes of that work. The year 1755-6 must be reckoned a new æra in the study of Persian Theology. M. Anquetil du Perron, happening to see a fragment of one of the sacred books of the ancient Persians, determined to enrich his country with a translation of it. With this design he embarked, in that year, for the East Indies: he returned to Europe in 1761. The result of his researches appeared in 1771, under the title, "*Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de* "*Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Theologiques,* "*Physiques et Morales de ce Legislateur*; *les* "*Cérémonies du Culte Religieux qu'il a etabli, et* "*plusieurs traités importans relatifs a l'ancienne* "*Histoire des Perses: Traduit en François sur* "*l'original Zend*; *avec des Remarques et accom-* "*pagné de plusieurs Traités propres a eclaircir* "*les Matieres, qui en sont l'objet.*" 2 vols. 4to, generally bound in three. The first contains an account of his voyage and travels; it is very interesting. His work was warmly attacked by *Sir William Jones* in his *Lettre à* M. A.** du P***, *dans laquelle est compris l'Examen de*

sa Traduction des livres attribués a Zoroastre, and by Mr. *Richardson*, in his preface to his *Arabic and Persian Dictionary*; both of them treat it as a contemptible forgery: but, in respect to Sir William Jones, *fecit indignatio versum*; M. Anquetil du Perron's very rude and petulant attack on the English nation, and particularly on the late Dr. Hunt of Oxford, Sir William Jones's preceptor in the Eastern languages, produced from him the retort, full of asperity, but wholly destitute of argument. It may be collected from his discourses before the Asiatic Society, that he thought differently of M. Anquetil du Perron's works in his riper years: and it certainly detracts from the weight of Mr. Richardson's testimony against them, that he pretends to no knowledge of the ancient Persian; and that his knowledge of the modern Persian is questioned by able scholars. M. de Sacy seems to acknowledge the importance and authenticity of the Zend-Avesta, by his frequent appeals to it and quotations of it, and it is honourably noticed by Tyschen of Rostock, Münter of Copenhagen, and Sir William Ouseley. Two interesting memoires relating to his work were published by M. Anquetil du Perron in the *Journal de Sçavans*, 1762—1769; and several in the *Memoires de l'Academie*. The subject is discussed, but not so fully as a curious reader must wish, by *Sir William Jones, in his Anniversary Discourses*. *Mr. Kleuker* has published a

German translation of M. Anquetil du Perron's Zend-Avesta, in six volumes 4to, at Riga, 1776, 1777, 1781, 1783, a work highly interesting to the curious in the ancient theology of the Persians. It contains a German translation of the original publication of M. Anquetil du Perron, and the essays, written by him and the Abbé Foucher: but the most important part of the work consists of the author's own historical disquisitions on the writings ascribed to Zoroaster: in them, he appreciates the claim to authenticity and antiquity, and the theological and literary merit of the Zend-Avesta. He seems to show, as far as the nature of the subject admits, that the Guebres in Persia and the Parsees in India, the supposed successors of the ancient Persians, actually possess a collection of books, esteemed sacred by them, as containing the doctrines of the ancient religion, and the fundamental tenets of their ancestors, and derived by them from Zoroaster, and that these are the works translated by M. Anquetil du Perron. It is much to be wished that some gentleman would favour the public with a translation of M. Kleuker's Disquisitions. From the works we have mentioned, the following compilation has been made; it may be found to give some notion, I. of the Patriarchal Faith; II. of Sabaeism, or Planetary Worship; III. of Zoroaster; IV. of the ancient Language of Persia; V. of the original Code of Law promulgated by Zoroaster; VI. of the Zend-

Avesta, published by M. Anquetil du Perron; VII. of its Authenticity; VIII. of its Theology, Morality and Ceremonial; and IX. of the Revolutions of the ancient Persian Creed. To distinguish them from the modern Persians, both the ancient and modern professors of the doctrines of Zoroaster are called Parsees by several writers of eminence, and in these sheets are called by that name.

I.

The religion of the ancient Persians may be considered the first deviation from the true *Patriarchal Faith.* That consisted in the knowledge, love and adoration of one supreme God; in the belief that he made the world by his power, and supported it by his providence; that he had created a man and a woman, and placed them in a state of bliss, to endure for ever, if they should observe the command he gave them, to abstain from eating the fruit of a forbidden tree; that they ate of it, and were punished for their disobedience; that, by their guilt, they and their posterity incurred a total loss of the divine favour; but were to be restored to it by a divine Redeemer, who, in the fulness of time, would appear in their seed. These sublime tenets composed the whole creed of Noah, and were probably carried by Elam his grandson beyond the Tigris, into Persia. There, by degrees, the faith of his descendants was adulterated. From

the contemplation of the Creator, they naturally turned to a view of the wonders of his hands, particularly the sun, the moon and the starry host of the heavens. Brought up from our earliest infancy in just notions of the Deity, we find it difficult to conceive, how the human mind can rest on these objects, however splendid, without rising to the sublime Being who called them into existence. To the descendants of Noah, the view of them was a strong temptation to error and superstition. Job felt its force: in the solemn protestation, made by him of his integrity in the observance of his duties, he calls God to witness: "That as he "beheld the sun, when it shined, or the moon "walking in brightness, his heart had never been "secretly enticed, his mouth had never kissed his "hand." Among the Persians, planetary worship very soon prevailed: but, if we credit Dr. Hyde, it should not be confounded with idolatry: in his opinion, light was considered by the Persians as the sublimest symbol of the Deity; the sun and planets, as his noblest production; fire, as his most powerful agent: in this view they paid them a religious reverence, but their reverence for them did not go so far as adoration. From their use of fire in their religious ceremonies, they acquired the name of fire-worshippers.

II.

In this state, they did not long rest: by de-

grees, an opinion gained ground among them, that the heavenly bodies were inhabited by beings, endowed with intelligence and power, and entitled to religious worship. These religious tenets are known by the appellation of *Sabaeism* or planetary worship. No heresy can boast such high antiquity or so long a duration. It certainly prevailed before Abraham; and, in the territory of Bassora, it is still to be found in a body of men, not very numerous, who call themselves the Christians of St. John. The reason and occasion of their assuming this appellation are unknown. Some mention of their tenets may be found in that part of the foregoing account of Mahomet and his disciples, which mentions the state of religion in Arabia, at the time of his appearance. From Sabaeism, however, a part of the Persians kept themselves clear: they were called Magians; they were not wholly free from superstitious practices, and probably both parties admitted Dualism, or the doctrine of two principles.

III.

This leads to the mention of *Zoroaster*, the reformer of the Persian religion. The time in which he lived is uncertain: and some writers have supposed, that more than one person of that name took an active and distinguished part in the revolutions of the Persian creed. On these points there is a great diversity of opinion among the learned: their opinions may be reconciled, in some measure,

by supposing, that two celebrated personages appeared in Persia: one, the legislator of Persia, both in its spiritual and temporal concerns, about the time of Cyaxares the 1st; the other, the reformer of its religion, and the founder of the Magian hierarchy under Darius the son of Hystaspes; that the name of the second was Zoroaster; and that the name of the first is unknown; but that there is a probability of his being the Heomo of the Zendish books, the Hom of the Pahlavi.

IV.

To the former, the Zend-Avesta, as it was originally composed, may be attributed with a high degree of probability. To obtain an accurate idea of it, some notion must be acquired of the *Languages* accounted sacred, by the present adherents to the ancient Persian creed, and of the writings known or supposed to exist in any of them.

The most ancient of these languages is the *Zend*. It was probably a very early corruption of the Sanscrit. It is supposed, that by an injunction of Zoroaster, the use of it was exclusively appropriated to the Magian hierarchy: the *Pazend* is a corruption of the Zend, and was used in the commentaries on the Zend. The *Pahlavi* was the language in general use among the Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, and continued in general use till the 5th or 6th century of the Christian æra; all the remains of it are translations from the Zend,

supposed to have been made during the life of Zoroaster, or soon after his decease. All the known writings in the Zend or Pahlavi languages are accounted sacred by the Parsees. Ferdusi, the Persian Homer, in his Shah-nameh, always supposes the kings and heroes of his country to speak and write the Pahlavi language.

In Kerman, and the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, the Parsees have a language peculiar to them, called the *Guebri*; it is a compound of the Zend, the Pahlavi, the modern Persian, and the languages of other neighbouring nations*.

V.

It is said that the *Code of Law promulgated by Zoroaster* was divided into twenty-one parts; that seven of them treated of the creation of the world, seven of morality, and of civil and religious duties, and seven of physic and astronomy: it is said, that it was written in letters of gold, on 12,000 skins of parchment, and deposited by Gushtasp in the great Pyræum, or fire-temple, at Persepolis: and that it was found there and destroyed by the command of a Mussulmaun chief, about the seventh century of the Christian æra. Zoroaster appears to have asserted, that it was delivered to him by the Deity: on that account, his followers called it the Avesta, or The Word; and, being written in the Zendish language, it was generally called

* See Note I.

Zend-Avesta. Later Persian and Arabic writers relate the prodigies which ushered into the world the birth of Zoroaster, the attempts of the evil spirits to destroy him, and the miracles by which he proved his divine mission.

To the exertions of M. Anquetil du Perron we are indebted for our first knowledge of the Zend-Avesta: his manuscripts are deposited in the national library at Paris; a similar, or perhaps a finer collection of these works, was lately brought from Surat, and has been purchased by Sir William Ouseley.

VI.

The first work in the collection of M. Anquetil du Perron is the *Vendidad Sadé*. It contains, what is called the Vendidad, in a strict sense, and the *Izeshnè* and *Vispered*. The word Vendidad means separated from the devil; and thus intimates, that the doctrine inculcated by the Vendidad is contrary to the doctrine of the devil. Sadé signifies pure and without mixture; and according to M. Anquetil du Perron, is a name given to those Zend works, which are not accompanied by a Pahlavi translation. The Vendidad Sadé contains a dialogue between Zoroaster and Ormuzd: some parts of it contain a relation of the historical facts on which the religion of the Parsees is founded; the rest relates to their morals, policy, and ceremonial. The Izeshnè and Vispered are liturgical

works; the first seems to signify a prayer in honour of him to whom it is addressed; the second, to denote the chiefs or first of every being, —the beginning of the Vispered containing addresses to them. The Izeshnè and Vispered were recited at the same time, and perhaps the Vendidad was recited with them, so as to form, together, an office, resembling the liturgies of the church of Rome and the church of England, which consist of lectures and prayers from the sacred writings, and prayers introduced by the churches themselves. The Izeshnè and Vispered are followed by the *Jeschts*, which consist of a variety of addresses, prayers and supplications to Ormuzd, and the other celestial beings, and commemorations of them. The Jescht of Ormuzd is remarkable for the very high terms, in which, in a dialogue between himself and Zoroaster, Ormuzd describes his own power and glories. After the Jeschts, is the small and the great Si-rouzè, or a collection of short prayers, addressed to the thirty heavenly spirits, who preside over the thirty days of the month. With the Si-rouzè, the Zend-Avesta finishes. M. Anquetil du Perron has subjoined to it the *Boun-dehesh*, containing an account of the Cosmogony of the Parsees: he considers it to be a translation from the Zend, and to have been composed towards the seventh century of the Christian æra.

For our knowledge of these documents, we are

indebted to M. Anquetil du Perron. We also owe to him much valuable information respecting several works, which throw much light on the theology of the Parsees. The first of these is the *Eulma-Eslam*, containing the answers made by a Parsee priest, to different questions put to him by some Mussulmaun doctors, about the 40th year of the Hegira; the *Modjmel-el-tavarikh*, or the summary of histories, published in the year 1126: and the treatise of the religions of the East by *Shahristani*: with the last of these works Dr. Pococke and Dr. Hyde were acquainted. The document of most importance, on the religion of the Parsees, of which we were in possession before M. Anquetil du Perron's publication of the Zend-Avesta, was the *Sadder*, a book used by the Magi, containing an account of the laws and precepts of the Parsees; it is divided into an hundred chapters, is written in the modern Persian, in verse, and is thought to have been composed by a Persian priest about the 16th century.

VII.

This leads to the important inquiry respecting the *Authenticity of the works, from which M. Anquetil du Perron translated the compilation, published by him under the title of The Zend-Avesta.* It is clear that he did not wilfully impose on the world, either a translation or supposed translation of a spurious original; that the books translated by

him really exist in a Zendish original; and that he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, and probably with success, to give a faithful translation of them. It is also clear, that, if they are genuine, they form a small part only of the original Zend-Avesta. Thus far, there is a reasonable degree of certainty: it is probable, that the original, from which M. Anquetil's compilation was framed, is of the highest antiquity; that parts of M. Anquetil's compilations, particularly those which contain a dialogue between Zoroaster and Ormuzd, or in which Zoroaster repeats the information or precepts he received from Ormuzd, are portions of the original Zend-Avesta; it is also probable, that other parts of it, particularly those, which are in the form of prayers or invocations, are of a later date than the Zoroaster assigned to the æra of Darius Hystaspes; and it also is probable that the Zend-Avesta, in its present form, is as ancient as the Mahometan invasion of Persia; and it may, for some reasons, be assigned to the time of Artaxerxes the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.

VIII.

To obtain an accurate notion of the religion of the Parsees, it is necessary to consider their *Mythology*, *Morality* and *Ceremonial*.

Under the name of *Zerouane*, or Time without bounds or beginning, they recognized a first and original Being. That by him and in him, they

believed the universe to exist, appears sufficiently clear: but they seem to have considered him rather as a principle, giving motion to a machine, or an impulse of fate, than a real object possessed of wisdom, independence and energy. From him, *Ormuzd* and *Ahriman* proceeded; each independent of the other, each possessed of the power of creation. Ormuzd is the Being absorbed in excellence, living in primæval light, good in his essence, the cause of all good; Ahriman was originally good, but, from envy against Ormuzd, became a *Dew*, that is, wicked; was hurled down into darkness, is evil, is the cause of all evil: his throne is in Duzah's depths,—the thickest darkness. Ormuzd formed mankind for virtue and happiness; the malice of Ahriman plunges him in vice and misery; whatever is good in the moral or physical world, is the production of Ormuzd; all that is bad, is the production of Ahriman. The opposition of their nature produces a necessary conflict between them: twelve thousand years were to pass from the first creation of Ormuzd and Ahriman; during the first 3,000 of them, Ahriman was to remain inactive; the conflict was then to begin, and during the next 3,000 years, Ormuzd was to have the advantage; in the following 3,000 years, Ormuzd and Ahriman were to be alternately victorious; in the last 3,000, Ahriman was to prevail, till, at the end of them, Ormuzd was to gain the ascendant, and to obtain a complete

victory over Ahriman and his powers: but Ahriman shall himself finally undergo a purgation in metallic fiery streams: he shall then be reconciled to Ormuzd, and join with him in singing praises to the Being of beings. To protect the beings he intended to create, from the attacks of Ahriman, Ormuzd created seven *Amshaspands*, or celestial beings, through whose ministry he should communicate his favours to man; he also created several celestial beings of an inferior degree called *Izeds*, of whom *Mithra*, the being of light, whose habitation is between the sun and the moon, is the most illustrious: the second, *Korshid*, the sun, great, immortal, the eye of Ormuzd, has four horses, and finishes his course in 365 days. Next to these, he created the *Ferouers*, or that part of every created being which partakes of the divinity, answering to the νοῦς which the Greek philosophers called the superior or divine part of the soul, in opposition to the ψυχή, its inferior or terrene part. Ormuzd also created the sun, moon, stars, and the four elements; first the light, then the water which covered the whole earth, and was, by an heavenly wind, driven upwards, and formed the clouds; then the earth. In the mean time Ahriman was not inactive: he created a large number of evil and filthy beings called *Dews* or *Dwes*, *Peries*, *Daroujes* and *Darvands*. From the continual conflict between good and evil spirits, arises the mixture of good and evil observable in the world,

in which every Parsee considers himself as a soldier, under the banners of Ormuzd, engaged against Ahriman.—With the evil spirits Ahriman attacked Ormuzd, and maintained against him a fight of ninety days, at the end of which, Ormuzd pronounced the *Honover*, or divine word,—at the sound of it they fled back to their primæval darkness: then Ormuzd created *the first ox*; it was detroyed by Ahriman; from him *Kaiomorts*, or the first man, proceeded; the Dews slew him, a tree sprung out of his seed, from which a man and woman arose, called *Meschia* and *Meschiane*. At first, they were pure immortal beings, and obedient to Ormuzd: but Ahriman was envious of their happiness: to seduce them, he assumed the form of a serpent, presented them fruit, engaged them in conversation with him, and persuaded them he was the creator of the universe; they believed in him; their nature was corrupted, and their corruption infects all their posterity. Ormuzd supplies them with force sufficient to resist the attacks of Ahriman; at their decease, if the good overbalances the evil they have done, they are, as an intermediate state, admitted to a paradise of spiritual and temporal delights, proportioned to the degree of their respective merits; if their evil actions preponderate, they are condemned to suitable suffering: but all this is temporal; at the end of the 12,000 years, from the creation of Ormuzd and Ahriman, the time fixed by *Zerouane*

for the general resurrection, the former will be victorious; the harmony of the universe will be re-established, and mankind restored to virtue and eternal happiness; the wicked must, however, first undergo a purification by passing through streams of metallic fire.

The Morality of the Zend-Avesta is entitled to praise;—purity of word, action, and thought, is repeatedly inculcated; an attention to truth is likewise particularly enforced; Ahriman is a liar and the father of lies. To multiply the human species, increase its happiness, and prevent evil, are the general duties inculcated by Zoroaster to his disciples. Agriculture and the multiplication of useful animals are particularly recommended them: "He," says Zoroaster, "who sows the ground "with diligence, acquires a greater stock of reli- "gious merit, than he could gain by repeating "ten thousand prayers." On the other hand, too great an attention to gain is reprobated in the strongest terms; "There is not," says Zoroaster, "a greater crime than to buy grain and delay "selling it, till it becomes dear, that it may be sold "for a greater price." The disciple of Zoroaster is enjoined to pardon injuries, to honour his parents, and the king, (whose rights are all derived from Ormuzd, and who is on earth, what the first Amshaspand Bahman is in heaven), to respect old age, to observe a general gentleness of manners, to practise universal benevolence. All ranks and descriptions

of people are supposed to have their respective heads, in imitation of the hierarchy of Ormuzd, as the priests, people, and even the women, there being also female *Izeds* at the head of which are Sapandomad, Asching and Parvand. The king himself is likewise bound by the laws, at least in theory, though his decisions are irrevocable. Fasting, and to the men, celibacy are forbidden; and, as far as may depend on themselves, the latter is discouraged in women: if a man's wife be not barren, one wife only is allowed him; a marriage with his cousin-german is recommended to him, as an act particularly pleasing to Heaven.

The Religious Ceremonial of the Parsees must take up a considerable portion of their time; and, on many occurrences both of business and pleasure, press inconveniently upon them. Offerings are required, chiefly of clothes for the priests, and of flesh and fruits. The primitive word addressed by Ormuzd to Zoroaster partook of the divine essence; to read and study it incessantly is considered by them a return due for so great a favour. The prayers of the Zend-Avesta often begin with an humble confession of sin or imperfection: they are addressed to the Time without bounds, to Ormuzd, the Amshaspands, the Izeds, the Ferouers, and the elements. Fire was considered by Zoroaster as the purest symbol of the Divinity, and the original element from which Ormuzd produced all beings; he therefore enjoyned his disciples

to keep up a perpetual fire, and to perform their devotional exercises in the presence of fire, and every supposed corruption of fire is forbidden under the severest penalties. To every act of devotion, purity of heart is necessary; and to purity of heart, Zoroaster supposes purity of body greatly contributes; with this view, he prescribed a multitude of minute observances; for some of them, as their frequent washings, a reason may be found in the nature of the climate, or some other economical, or political, reason;—such is the injunction to destroy a number of noxious animals, said to be produced by Ahriman, as tigers and scorpions; and the prohibition of beef, as food, on account of its supposed unwholesomeness; but many of them seem arbitrary and trifling; the omission of them is declared to be a grievous sin, not inferior in guilt to the violation of the most important duties of morality, and only to be expiated by the heaviest punishment. Every thing, which related to religion or its concerns is placed under their priests; they were formed into a regular hierarchy not unlike the hierarchy of the Christian church; and are now, as they were formerly, divided into three orders; large tracts of land were assigned for their support, and they were entitled to a tithe of all the property of their disciples.

The most exceptionable part of the religious system of the Parsees is its *religious intolerance.*

From its establishment under Darius Hystaspes, to its fall under Isdegertes, the last of the Sassanian dynasty, the exercise of every mode of religious worship, except that of Zoroaster, was prohibited throughout Persia, under the severest penalties; and the Magi appear to have been disposed rather to increase than lessen the severity of the law.

IX.

What has been said may be thought to present some view of the *History of the Persian Creed*, during its two first periods,—that which preceded, and that which began with Zoroaster; from him, till Ardeshir or Artaxerxes, the first prince of the Sassanian dynasty, seven centuries elapsed, which may be assigned for its third period;—its 4th extends from that time to the overthrow of the Persian empire by the companions of Mahomet; its fifth and last period reaches to the present time.

The doctrines of Zoroaster soon attracted the attention of the Greeks. By an intercourse with the Greeks, such of the Magi as had a turn for these speculations, would naturally be led to accommodate the doctrines of Zoroaster to the polytheism of the Greek theology. The task would not be difficult: they would easily find in Ormuzd and Ahriman the subordinate deities of the Greeks; and in the Zerouane or Time without bounds, a Jupiter, the eternal parent and sovereign of all. Their intercourse with the Jews

would also have some effect on their religious belief; the sublime descriptions of Jehovah, with which the sacred writings of the Jews abound, would naturally rectify and exalt the conceptions of the Magian priest, and insensibly lead him to ascribe to his own Zerouane, or Time without bounds, the infinite power and infinite wisdom of the God of Abraham, and to consider Ormuzd and the other celestial beings as his ministering angels. But whatever effect these sublime or ingenious speculations might have on a few philosophers, the Persian nation at large adhered to the religion of the Magi: its natural tendency however was planetary worship; that insensibly gained ground in the nation; it corrupted the ancient doctrines; it gave rise to a multitude of sects; all of them professed to revere the name of Zoroaster, and each claimed to be the only true observer of his doctrines. To put an end to these disputes, Artaxerxes summoned a general meeting of the Magi; they are said to have met to the number of 80,000: by successive operations they were reduced to 40,000, to 4,000, to 400, and ultimately to 7: one of them drank three cups of soporiferous wine presented him by his brethren, fell into a long sleep, awoke, related his conference with the Deity, and announced to the king and Magi, the Deity's avowal of the divine mission of Zoroaster, and the authenticity of the Zend-Avesta.

From that time, till its conquest by the Mahometans, the whole kingdom of Persia was faithful to the doctrine of Zoroaster. It is a principle of the Mahometan religion to tolerate all religions which recognize the unity of God. In the eye of the Mahometans, the Parsees appeared to worship the sun and to worship fire: on this ground they destroyed the fire-temples and altars of the Parsees, and insulted the Magi; but they carried their persecution no further: by degrees, they allowed the Parsees the free enjoyment of their places of worship, on paying tribute. For several centuries the Pyræums subsisted in Media and Bactriana; and they still subsist in Kirman, Surat, Bombay, and the neighbourhood of Ispahan.

THE VEDAS.

ADVANCING eastward from Persia, we immediately touch on HINDUSTAN, where, to use Mr. Lord's picturesque and accurate language, "a "people present themselves to our eyes, clothed "in linen garments, somewhat low descending, "of a gesture and garb, we may say, maidenly "and well nigh effeminate, of a countenance shy "and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a "glozed and somewhat bashful familiarity."

The following lines may be found to give some notion, 1st, of the Geography; 2dly, of the Ancient History of Hindustan; 3dly, of the Ancient Philosophy of the Indians; 4thly, of the Vedas, the books accounted sacred by the Hindus, and of several books held by them in great veneration; and 5thly, some mention of the supposed ages of these writings.

I.

Considering *Hindustan*, in the very largest sense, in which that word is used, it answers to the India infra Gangem of the ancients: or the country bounded on the north by the Tartarian and Thibetian mountains; on the south, by the sea; on the west, by the Indus; on the east, by a supposed line extending to the north from the mouth of the Ganges. The country bordering

on the eastern side of the Indus made a part of one of the Satrapies of Darius Hystaspes; but, speaking generally, the Indus was the easternmost boundary of the Persian empire, and all the country beyond it was divided into a number of kingdoms or states.

II.

Of the *Ancient History of Hindustan*, or any other part of the country to the east of the Indus, we know little. About 160 years after the reign of Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great advanced, with his army into India: that point of the Hyphasis or Beeyah, where it receives the Setlegè or Setooder, was the scene of the memorable refusal of Alexander's army to follow him. On his death, Seleucus made himself master of the Persian empire; and, turning his attention to India, sent Megasthenes, in the character of ambassador, to Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, or the country watered by the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. After this, with the exception of some occasional mention of accidental circumstances, which show the nature of the commercial intercourse of the Romans with the East, from the time they established their dominion in Egypt, history is almost silent on the subject of India, till the conquest of it by the Mahometans.

To the ancient and high civilization of the inhabitants of India, sacred and profane history bear

ample testimony. The permanent singularity of their institutions is a circumstance peculiar to them; the most early and most modern writers agree in giving the same account of the classes of society into which they are divided; of their religious opinions, of their habits, morals, and manners. The classes of society among them, are 1st, that of the Bramins, the most noble or sacred tribe, and the only persons allowed to officiate in the priesthood; 2d, that of the Khettre, or military men; 3dly, that of the Bise, or merchants or tradesmen; and 4thly, that of the Soodra, the husbandmen and menial servants. Beneath all these, are the Chandalahs; they are held in utter detestation by the other tribes, and are employed only in the meanest and vilest offices. A curious account of these distinctions and their subdivisions, is given by Mr. Colebrooke, in his enumeration of Indian classes, in the fifth volume of Asiatic Researches.

III.

The Philosophy of the Indians was famous in Greece. From Strabo, Porphyry, Apuleius, Arrian and Palladius, we learn, that the ancients supposed the persons addicted to it were divided into sects, of which the Brachmans and Samanœans were the most famous. They are described to have lived in retirement, to have avoided any intercourse with mankind, to have abstained from

wine and animal food, to have practised great bodily austerities, and to have endeavoured, by assiduous prayer, meditation and abstraction from terrene objects, to raise themselves to an incessant communion with the Deity. They probably were free from idolatry, and appear to have aimed at a sublime simplicity, above visible objects and natural feelings. At a time, probably not much more recent than the reign of Darius Hystaspes, an Indian philosopher of the name of Buddha arose in India, or some of the adjacent islands. Comparing what the Siamese, Chinese and Japanese relate of Sommonacodom, Fohi and Xaha, it is not improbable, that Buddha, Sommonacodom, Fohi and Xaha, was the same person; that he was the author of a mythological system, which the initiated or adepts might, by emblematical explanation, reconcile with philosophy; but, which, in the sense in which it was received by the people at large, was the very rankest idolatry. From this species of superstition the Hindus appear to be free; but their religious system is equally objectionable: the author of it seems wholly unknown.

IV.

The religious tenets of the Indians are comprised in several books called *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanscrit, a language once general in Hindustan; but which, after the invasion of it by the Mahometans, ceased to be a spoken

language. All who have acquired the knowledge of it, mention it as the most copious and excellent language which has yet come into notice. The Vedas, and the language in which they are written, are held so sacred, that no sect but that of the Bramins is permitted to read the former, or learn the latter. The emperor Ackbar could not, either by promises or threats, prevail on the Bramins to disclose their religious credence. But their firmness has yielded to the courtesy and philosophical solicitations of the English established in Hindustan; and we have the satisfaction to hear from Sir William Jones, that the Bramins are now as willing to give, as the English to receive information on their religious tenets. Of this liberal disposition the English have availed themselves. It would be difficult to point out a period, during which, more valuable communications have been made to the literary world, than that which has elapsed since the first institution of the society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history of the antiquities of the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia:* yet, without undervaluing in the slightest degree, the merit of their literary exertions, it may be doubted whether hitherto they have succeeded so much in fixing a complete and consistent system, respecting the sacred, profane, or philosophic history of Asia, as in showing the imperfection of the received opinions upon it.

* See Note II.

The Vedas contain 100,000 stanzas, of four lines each: they treat of divination, astronomy, natural philosophy, the creation of the world, religious ceremonies, prayers, morality, and piety, and include hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, and in honour of subaltern intelligences. They are distinguished by the names of the Rik, the Yajur, the Sám, and the Atharvan * Vedas. The Hindus suppose that one of them came from each of the four mouths of Brama. Colonel Polier obtained a complete copy of them, and generously presented it to the British Museum. †

From the Vedas are deduced the four *Upavédas*, called by the Hindus the Ayush, Gandarva, Dhanur and St'hapatya; the first treats of medicine, and is supposed to have been delivered to mankind by Bramha Indra Dhanwantari, and five other deities: the 2d treats of music, and is said to have been invented or explained by Bharata: the 3d Upavéda, composed by Viswamitra, treats of the fabrication and use of the weapons of war of the military tribe: the 4th, containing various treatises on the mechanical arts, was revealed by Viswacarman.

If the expression may be used, the Vedas are the scriptures, the Upavédas are the subscriptures of the Hindus.

Six *Vedangas* or bodies of learning are derived from these sources; they were written by different

* See Note III. † See Note IV.

holy men, and treat of pronunciation, religious ceremonies, grammar, prosody, astronomy, and the difficult phrases in the Vedas.

Subordinate to these are, 1st, the *Puranas*, a series of mythological histories in blank verse, from the creation of the world to the supposed incarnation of Buddha; 2dly, the *Dherma*, consisting of various works relating to the jurisprudence of the Hindus; and 3dly, the *Dersana*, consisting of several works on different subjects of their philosophy.*

An extract from the Vedas has been published lately by M. Anquetil du Perron, under the title "*Oupnekat,*" *(id est, Secretum Tegendum)* "*opus ipsâ in Indiâ rarissimum, continens an-*" "*tiquam et arcanam seu Theologicam et Philo-*" "*sophicam doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum*" "*Libris, Rak Beid, Djejr Beid, Sam Beid,*" "*Arthrban Beid, excerptam, ad verbum, et*" "*Persico idiomate Sanskreticis vocabulis inter-*" "*mixto, in Latinum conversum, dissertationi-*" "*bus et annotationibus difficiliora explanantibus*" "*illustratum, studio et opera Anquetil du Per-*" "*ron, Indicopleustæ. Tom. I. and II. 4to.*" "*Argentorati et Parisiis.*"

A much more intelligible, and, perhaps, a much abler translation of this work, made by Mr. Halhed, through the medium of a Persian translation, is deposited in the British Museum. It is observable

* See Note V.

that in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Ed.* 1781, it is explicitly asserted, 1st, that the Vedas were in the hands of the missionaries: 2dly, that a copy of them was in the king of France's library: 3dly, that there was an Arabic translation of them. 13 *vol. p.* 394, 437. 14 *vol. p.* 6, 65. Father Pons's Letter, to which the last of these references is made, deserves a serious perusal.*

Among the Dhermas or works of law, none are held by the Hindus in such veneration as the *Institutes of Menu*; a system of religious and civil duties which the Hindus firmly believe to have been promulgated by Menu, the son or grandson of Brama. A translation of it has been published by Sir William Jones.

For another work, we are indebted to Mr. Hastings.—A noble spirit of enlarged policy prompted him to procure a code of the laws and customs of the Hindus. For this purpose he assembled Bramins from every part of the country, at Fort William in Calcutta: and, under his auspices, they composed, from the Vedas and other authentic books, a code of their laws and customs, in the Sanscrit language. It was translated, with scrupulous accuracy, into the Persian; and from the Persian, with the same scrupulous accuracy, it was translated, by Mr. Halhed, into English. It was published in 1777, under the title of *A Code of Gentoo Laws*; *or, Ordina-*

* See Note VI.

tions of the Pundits. From a Persian translation, made from the original, and written in the Sanscrit language, 4*to. Lond.* 1776. With the single exception of the Scriptures, it is the most valuable present which Europe ever received from Asia.*

V.

Several attempts have been made to discover the *æra of the first foundation of the Indian empire, and to settle the different ages of the publications we have mentioned.* The most specious system, on these subjects, which has yet appeared, is that of Sir William Jones. He traces the foundation of the Indian empire above 3800 years from the present time; the highest age of the Yajur Veda to 1580 years before the birth of our Saviour, or 100 years before the time of Moses; and the highest age of the Institutes of Menu, to 1280 years before the birth of our Saviour. The opinions of M. Freret and M. Bailly are nearly the same: but Sir William Jones admits these to be the highest possible dates which can be assigned to the works in question; and, in fixing the æras of the Vedas and the Institutes of Menu, he does not speak of them as existing, at the period he assigns to them, in the form we now have them; he considers them to have then been in a state of traditional existence.—Such is the outline of Sir William Jones's

* See Note VII.

system; but it is impossible not to wish, that the facts upon which, on this and other occasions, he builds his premises, were established with more certainty, and that the conclusions he deduces from them were supported by inferences and arguments less nicely spun. The age of the Puranas is still more uncertain; their pretensions to high antiquity seem powerfully attacked by Mr. Bentley, in his Dissertation, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, on the Suryá Siddhanta: and his arguments indirectly affect the supposed high antiquity of the Vedas.

Besides—the geography of the Bramins is admitted by all to be fanciful and absurd in the extreme. Now, if the Bramins could give so much loose to their imaginations in the severest of all sciences; if they could be so grossly ignorant in things which lay perpetually before them, how much more extravagance and error must be expected from them in the sciences of astronomy and chronology, as loosely as those sciences have ever been treated in India?

All, who take an interest in the advancement of useful or elegant learning, must anxiously wish that Asiatic literature should meet with every species of encouragement. Generally speaking, in literature as in commerce, the public is the best patron: and the adventurer seldom succeeds so well, as when he is left to his own exertions: but

sometimes it happens that particular encouragement is necessary, and premiums, advances and bounties have their use. The infant state of Asiatic literature, the small number of those who can devote their time to its study, and the difficulty and expense attending its acquisition, seem to make this one of the cases in which the public should stimulate the exertion of the individul, by lessening the expense and smoothening the difficulty of his pursuits, and by multiplying the means of his success. A sum of money, the appropriation of which to such a purpose would be felt neither in England nor in Asia, and which would scarcely be discernible in an Indian budget, would, if judiciously expended in defraying the charges of scientific and observing travellers, in engraving curious and instructive objects of art, and particularly in procuring faithful translations of original works of acknowledged value, open to us, in a few years, the choicest treasures of the East. Such a measure would be worthy of the merchant kings, to whom exclusively, as the best managers of it for the public welfare, the British nation trusts her Asiatic trade. Under their auspices, the British arms have triumphed in almost every territory between the Indus and the Ganges, and each shore of the Peninsula is tributary to British commerce. That to deserve well of their country is their earnest wish, we all know; now power or super-

fluous wealth is seldom so well employed, as in the encouragement of those whose labours increase the knowledge, refine the taste, or elevate the genius of their countrymen: and if they are desirous of fair fame, they must be sensible that the most certain method of obtaining it, is to connect their names with great literary institutions, and to secure the gratitude of the artist and the scholar.

THE KINGS.

LEAVING Hindustan, we must take a north-easterly course, to arrive at CHINA, and consider the several books accounted sacred in that country. Something should be premised, 1st, on the origin and antiquity of its empire: 2dly, on the geographical notions which the ancients entertained of it; and 3dly, on the rise and progress of the intercourse between it and Europe.

I.

The origin and antiquity of the empire of China are among the questions, which have exercised, in a particular manner, the ingenuity of the learned. After much discussion, six things appear to be settled, with some appearance of precision:— 1st, that the most probable opinion, respecting the origin of the Chinese, is, that China was first peopled from Hindustan: this is the universal belief of the learned of Benares, and is confirmed by a passage, cited for the purpose, by Sir William Jones, from the Institutes of Menu, a work, which, in a question of this nature, is of the very highest authority; 2dly, that the first known seat of the Chinese is Chinsi, the most north-western province of the present empire of China; 3dly, that, adopting the chronology of the Septuagint, the æra of the Chinese empire may be fixed, with some latitude

of calculation, at 2500 years before Christ; 4thly, that, with the same latitude, its historical æra may be fixed at 800 years before Christ; 5thly, that the actual form and extent of the Chinese government, may be dated from the dynasty of Hane, 206 years before Christ; 6thly, and that, to repel the invasion of the Huns, the celebrated Wall of China was built about a century before the accession of that dynasty.

II.

In respect to its *Geography*, it already has been observed, that the geographical knowledge of the Greeks did not extend, in the north-eastern parts of Asia, much beyond the Imaus or Caff. The geographical knowledge of the Romans extended much farther; their Serica regio probably was a part of the Scythia extra Imaum, and stretched from the Altai mountains, over the country of Chami, to Kantcheou in a north-western part of the province of Chinsi. Till d'Anville asserted a contrary opinion, modern geographers supposed the Sinarum regio corresponded with China: he asserted its correspondence with Cochin China.

III.

The ancient Roman historians are wholly silent on the subject of any *political relations between Rome and China*; the indefatigable industry of M. de Guignes, (*Mem. de l'Académie*,

Tom. xxxii. p. 355), has proved from Chinese writers, their occasional intercourse; and Ptolemy, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other authors, show, that a considerable trade, in the article of silk, was carried on between China and the western parts of Asia and Europe. It was managed by caravans, some of which took a northern, others a southern route: the former passed over the Great Desert to Kashgar, where Ptolemy fixes the station of the merchants, *qui ad Seres profisiscuntur*; thence, the caravans proceeded to Samarcand, and thence, through Persia, to Syria: the whole journey took up 243 days, but a great proportion of the commodity was purchased, in its passage, by the merchants of Nisibis and Armenia. The southern route took the caravans through the mountains of Thibet, to the Guzzarat, where they were met by the merchants of the West. The commerce was also carried on by sea: the ships of the Chinese sailed from its eastern ports to Malacca, or to Achem, the promontory of Sumatra; and, when that was not the term of the voyage, they sailed on to Ceylon, the Taprobanè of the ancients, where they were met by the merchants of the Persian Gulph and the countries adjacent. Such was the nature of the commercial intercourse between China and Europe, till the reign of the emperor Justinian, when silkworms were introduced into Europe. From that time, the intercourse between the countries gradually wore away; and, at the end of

a few centuries, Europe almost wholly forgot the existence, and even the name of China. The history of the introduction of the silkworm into Europe, is one of the most pleasing parts of Mr. Gibbon's work.

IV.

The first writer to whom, after that time, we are indebted for an account of China, is *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, or the Indian Navigator: he performed his voyage about the year 522; a valuable extract of it was given in French and Greek by Thevenot, (*Relations Curieuses*), and the whole of it was published by Montfaucon in his *Nova Collectio Patrum*.

But the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes was soon forgotten, and Europe generally remained in ignorance of China, till about the end of the 12th century, when *John Carpin* a Polonese friar, and *Rubruquis* a French friar, penetrated into it, and, on their return, published accounts of it. In the following century, the travels of *Marco Polo*, in Tartary and China, made their appearance: what he said of China, was, at first, thought fabulous; by degrees it was more favourably received, and insensibly obtained general credit. Soon after the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, their ships reached China; and they obtained leave to settle at Macao. Several priests of the order of St. Ignatius advanced into different parts of the

country: their knowledge of the arts and sciences recommended them to the court; of this circumstance they availed themselves to propagate the Gospel: an account of their labours, of their vicissitudes of favour and persecution, and of many curious circumstances respecting the natural, civil and religious history of the country, has been published by them in several works, particularly their *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, of which Fontenelle said, that he had never read a work which answered better to its title. Of the general accuracy of those letters, and the works of *father Du Halde and father Gaubil*, the writer has often heard the late Sir George Staunton speak in the highest terms: his testimony is certainly of great weight; and the writer avails himself with much satisfaction, of this opportunity of mentioning a gentleman, whose talents and unconquerable vigour of mind, rendered his country essential services on many important occasions, and whose many amiable and estimable qualities will long remain in the memory of his numerous friends, and are seen by them, with great pleasure, to survive in his son. The labours of *de Guignes, the Fourmonts and Freret*, are well known: an interesting account of the rise and progress of Chinese literature in Europe, is prefixed by Bayer, to his *Museum Sinicum*.

V.

All the works of literature which the Chinese have composed are divided by them into four classes; 1st, that of *Kings*, or the *Sacred Books*; 2d, that of *Su* or *Che*, or Books of History; 3d, that of *Tsu* or *Tse*, or Books of Philosophy; 4th, that of *Feie*, or Miscellanies.

The *Kings*, or *Sacred Books*, answer to what we call theology: they are divided into two classes; the first are five in number; the *Y-King*, the *Chou-King*, the *Chi-King*, the *Li-ki*, and *Tchun-tsieou*. The *Y-king* consists of horizontal lines, entire or cut, which are multiplied and combined into sixty-four different forms or positions: they appear involved in impenetrable mystery, but some writers have affected to discover in them the origin of all beings, the principles of natural history, and the harmony of the universe. The *Chou-king* contained the public annals of the nation: all that remains of it are fragments collected by Confucius; his object in compiling them was to form a collection of the precepts and instructions given by princes to their ministers and subjects: a translation of it was published by father Gaubil. The *Chi-king* is a collection of poems on different subjects; a translation of it was made by father Gaubil, and published by M. de Guignes in 1770. The *Li-ki* contained the civil and religious ceremonial of the

Chinese; all that remains of it is an extract of it published in the reign of Ham, about 200 years before the Christian æra. The *Tchun-tsieou* is a work of Confucius which contains the annals of twelve kings, who reigned in Lou, his native country. A work, ranked among the sacred books, called the *Yo-king* on the subject of music, formerly existed, but it is wholly lost. Thirty other works are called Kings; they are held in great respect, but are not deemed sacred.

The second class of the sacred books of the Chinese consists *of the Su-Chu, or the four Books:* they are moral writings composed by Confucius or his disciples.

Many commentaries have been written, and many dictionaries have been composed, to facilitate the intelligence of the sacred books. "They "contain," says father Premare, (*Lettres Edif. et Cur. Tom.* 21, *p.* 218. *Ed.* 1781), "the "whole of the Chinese religion. In the funda- "mental doctrines of them may be found the "principles of natural law, which the ancient "Chinese received from the sons of Noah: they "teach the reader to know and reverence the "Supreme Being. Like the Patriarchs, under "the unwritten law, the emperor is both king "and pontiff: to him it belongs to offer, at "certain times of the year, sacrifice for his people; "to him it belongs to prescribe ceremonies, to "decide on doctrines. This alone can be called

" the established religion of China; all other sects " are considered by them to be extraneous, false, " and pernicious, and are only tolerated. The " Christian religion was declared lawful by a public " edict; in a subsequent reign it was proscribed." The whole of father Premare's letter deserves to be read: it is entitled to all the praise bestowed by Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, *l.* 8, *ch.* 31), on the letters of father Parennin and father Mairan.

THE EDDA.

CONSIDERING the great attention which the learned of Europe have bestowed on the antiquities of the North, it may be a matter of surprise that Icelandic literature, and particularly the EDDA, has been so little the subject of their inquiries.—Something will be said in this place, 1st, of the Ancient History of Iceland; 2dly, of the Edda in general; 3dly, of the Edda of Sæmund; 4thly, of the Edda of Snorro; and 5thly, a short view will then be given of the Mythology of the Edda.

I.

It is probable that *Iceland* was originally peopled from England or Ireland. Of its history, till it was discovered by the Norwegians about the middle of the 9th century, we know very little. It is said that the Norwegians found in it some vestiges of Christianity: in 981, a Saxon bishop, of the name of Friederick, attempted its conversion; he was not favourably received, but, after much opposition, the whole nation was converted to the Christian faith, about the eleventh century. The lutheran religion was introduced into it by Christian III. in 1550. In respect to its literature, the learned generally divide it into four stages: according to them, its infancy extended to

1056, the year assigned to the final establishment of Christianity; from that time till the year 1110, when their schools and seminaries for learning were first instituted, its literature is said by them to have been in its youth; then its manhood began, and lasted till the 14th century, when it fell to decay. In the second and third of these periods, while the greatest part of Europe was almost buried in ignorance, literature is said to have been cultivated in Iceland with great success.

II.

To the Icelandic literati we are principally indebted for what we know of *the Edda*. The learned are not agreed in their opinion, either of the meaning or etymology of that word. In a general sense it may be used to denote the ancient songs or memorials, either in the Icelandic language, or in any of the ancient languages of Scandinavia, which express the mythology of the North, concerning Odin and his companions. In a more limited sense it is used to denote two publications, the Edda of Sæmund and the Edda of Snorro.

So far as the writer can perceive, the scenes of all the ancient songs or memorials, which compose the Eddas contained in these publications, or scattered in other works, are Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian, and never Icelandic: from this it may be inferred, that the whole system of mythology expressed in them was carried from Scandinavia to

Iceland: now, as Scandinavia was converted to Christianity about the eleventh century, it seems to follow, that the Eddic mythology must have been imported into Iceland before that time. It must be added, that, this is conformable to the notion given of it by Adam of Bremen, Saxo Grammaticus, and other writers of authority; we may therefore safely conclude that the two publications demonstratively show that the Edda, in the large sense assigned to that word, contains the ancient creed of Scandinavia, before its conversion to Christianity.

III.

Having thus spoken of the Edda in the most general sense which can be given to that word, we have to notice each of the two particular Eddas, which have been mentioned.

The first is the *Edda of Sæmund*:—he was born in 1056, travelled to Rome in search of knowledge, returned to his native country about 1076, and died about 1133.

To him the ancient Edda, as it is called, in opposition to the Edda afterwards published by Snorro, is ascribed. Two of the most important poems in the Edda of Sæmund, the *Voluspa*, and *Haavamaal*, and a third called *Odin's Magic*, were published by Resenius in separate pamphlets. The *Voluspa* is the oracle or prophecy of Vola, a Scandinavian Sibyl, and contains the whole

mythology of the Edda; the *Haavamaal*, or the sublime discourse of Odin, contains, in about 120 strophes, certain lessons of morality supposed to be pronounced by Odin himself. Resenius published an edition of it from another manuscript in 1673: the difference between the editions is considerable. These poems were all we possessed of the ancient Edda, till the year 1787, when the whole of the mythological part of it, not published by Resenius, was printed at Copenhagen, in one large quarto volume. The preface contains an account of the Eddic mythology, and of the manuscripts from which the poems are printed; a curious life of Sæmund follows, and then the poems: they are thirteen in number. The ninth of them is the journey of Odin to hell, so finely translated by Mr. Gray: he has omitted to translate the five first stanzas; without them it is impossible to comprehend the action of the poem; and even with them, several parts of it are very obscure.—Dreams of a terrible kind had intimated to the god Balder, one of Odin's sons, that he should soon die: he communicated them to the other gods; they were alarmed, and agreed to conjure away the danger with which he was threatened: with that view they sent Odin, and Friga his wife, to exact an oath from every object in nature, not to hurt Balder. Odin and Friga executed the commission. Still Odin was uneasy: he called a new council, and not hearing any thing satisfactory, he " up rose

with speed."—Here Mr. Gray's translation of the poem begins: when the prophetess appears, he assumes a feigned name and character, and asks her, in the figurative style of the Edda, for whom the ornamented bed, (such as according to the Eddic mythology awaited martial heroes in the next life, immediately on their decease), was then prepared; she replies for Balder, and says his shield already hung over the bowl of mead prepared for him; this was another reward of heroes: then follow the questions and replies respecting the author and avenger of Balder's death. Odin then inquires who the virgins are, who so greatly bewail Balder's fate; by this question the prophetess instantly perceives the deception put on her, and that she is talking to the "king of men:"—but it has been asked, how is this intimated by the question? Now in the Edda of Snorro it is related, that on the death of Balder, Friga his mother sent Hermod to Hela the goddess of Death, to pursuade her to give him up; Hela required that all things animate or inanimate should bewail his death: to this general lamentation Odin refers; the prophetess feels that this is a circumstance which none but Odin could foresee, and she therefore breaks out into the exclamation, "king of men, I know thee now!"—This seems to explain the poem satisfactorily. The poem as it stands in Sæmund's Edda, and the account of Balder's death in the

Edda of Snorro, may be read as curious specimens of each.

In Sæmund's Edda, the poems are followed by a dictionary.—It is difficult to ascertain the age of these poems with precision: we have observed that they are of an earlier date than the introduction of Christianity into Iceland by the Norwegian settlers; the arguments of Sæmund's editor to prove they are of the ninth century are very strong.

Such is the ancient Edda.—It is evident that Sæmund was at most the compiler of it, and his being the compiler of it, is uncertain; it is by no means clear that we are in possession of all the fables or mythologies originally inserted in the compilation which goes under his name; and that compilation, probably, did not contain all the Eddic fables or mythological tales then extant.

IV.

The *modern Edda* is unquestionably the work of *Snorro Sturleson:* he was born in 1179, was supreme judge of Iceland from 1215 to 1222, and died in 1241. His work is an abridgment of Eddic mythology in the form of a dialogue. It was published by Resenius in 1665; a new edition, (which the writer has not been able to procure), of part of the modern Edda was published by Goranson, at Upsal, in 1746. In 1763, *Mr. Mallet* published his *Histoire de Dannemarc,* in six volumes octavo;

the two first of them serve as an introduction: the second contains a translation of part of the Edda. Under the title of *Northern Antiquities*, an excellent English translation of the two first volumes of Mr. Mallet's work, with a learned preface and valuable notes, and with Goranson's Latin version of the Edda, was published in 1770. We are principally indebted for it to the learned and polite pen of the Bishop of Dromore. It has been observed that Resenius's edition contains, besides the modern Edda, the Voluspa, the Haavamaal, and the Magic of Odin of the ancient or Sæmund's Edda.

In Resenius's edition, the Edda of Snorro is preceded by a dedication in fifty-eight pages to Frederick III. This is followed by a preface of fifty-two pages, containing an account of the ancient and modern Edda, and of Sæmund and Snorro; the modern Edda then follows. Every chapter first appears in the Icelandic language, in Danish characters, then in a Danish, and afterwards in a Latin translation. The Danish is by Stephanius, the Latin by Magnus Olai; various readings are noticed from manuscripts, and the Latin translation: neither page nor folio is marked in the book.

In Resenius's edition, the Edda consists of 78 mythologies or fables, in Goranson's of 26, in Mallet of 33; but the division of the chapters is

arbitrary, the matter, as far as they all proceed together, being the same.

Resenius's edition contains three introductory chapters; the two first are very short, the third is long, and is omitted both by Goranson and Mallet; both Goranson and Mallet stop with the end of the 50th fable in Resenius's edition. Thus far the works consist of a dialogue between a king of Sweden, called Gylfe, and the gods, at their court at Asgard. Gylfe proposes questions, which some of the gods answer; they turn on the nature of the gods, and their adventures. The 2d part contains an account of a similar dialogue between the gods and Ægær a Danish lord. They receive his visit with great ceremony; the god Bragge sits down by him, and narrates their exploits and adventures to him. This part of the Edda ends with the 62d fable or mythology; the remainder of the work, except the 68th and 69th and 70th divisions, which are of the mythological kind, is historical, with a considerable intermixture of fable. The work concludes with an epilogue of no consequence, and probably an interpolation. It is followed by the Scalda, a kind of poetical dictionary for the use of students, with observations on the language, and its orthography, and on the structure of the verses of the poetical works written in it.

Such are the ancient and new Eddas of Sæmund and Snorro; the reputation and importance,

in many respects, of the Edda, loudly call for a new and complete edition of them. This is Mr. Pinkerton's observation in an useful and instructive manuscript on the Edda, which he kindly permitted the writer to peruse.

V.

Odin is the hero of the Edda: but the whole of his history is involved in fable and obscurity. It is a probable conjecture that the tribes, which he led into Scandinavia, came originally from the countries reaching to the Caucasus from the north of Persia; and that, by different irruptions, they successively extended their conquests over the Volga, the Tanais, and each side of the Baltic: it also is probable, that, at the time of their irruption into the Scandinavian countries, which is referred to by the Edda, the principal seat of their residence was Asoph, and that Odin was their leader. We are told that, by a variety of heroic acts of valour and consummate military skill, he persuaded his troops that he possessed more than mortal powers; that he himself cherished this opinion among them; and that to confirm them in it, when he found the approach of age and infirmity, he called an assembly of the principal of his subjects, and wounded himself in nine mortal places, hastening away, (as he declared with his dying voice), to prepare the feast of the heroes in the palace of the god of war. The enthusiastic admiration of his followers at first

compared him, then identified him with that deity. This confusion in the ideas of the Scandinavians affects the Edda; there Odin is sometimes an hero highly gifted and favoured; sometimes he is the god of war himself.

As the mythology of the Scandinavians became more refined, the number of their deities increased. They assigned to Odin the wife we have mentioned, Friga or Fria, the Scandinavian Venus. Twelve gods and twelve goddesses, all of whom were children of Odin, completed the celestial family: Thor, the god of thunder, was the most powerful of them; Balder, the god of grace and eloquence, was the Scandinavian Apollo; Loke, the god of cunning, was at once their Momus, their Mercury, and their Ahriman: he had several children, and several monsters were born of him, the wolf Fenris, the serpent Medgard, and Hela or Death.

The gods have chained up the wolf, thrown the serpent into the sea, cast Hela into the lower world, where she reigns over the dead; and shut up Loke in a cavern under the earth, where, by his rage, he shakes the world with earthquakes. Each of the twelve goddesses has her separate and characteristic powers: several virgins are assigned to wait on the heroes after their death. Every day the heroes engage in most violent battle, mounted on fiery steeds, and clothed in resplendent armour; they give and receive wounds; but, when the battle is over, they

bathe in a fountain of living water; they are instantly healed, and then sit down to a sumptuous repast, at which Odin presides, and pass the remaining hours in circling goblets of mead, and martial song.

But all this is temporary; the *twilight of the gods*, as it is termed in the Edda, will arrive, when Loke will break from his confinement, when the human race, the stars, the moon and the sun will disappear, the earth sink in the seas, fire consume the skies, and Odin himself and his kindred gods will perish. A mysterious and all powerful Being, who seems to have nothing in common with Odin, and who, before this grand catastrophe, is scarcely discernible in the Eddic mythology, will then come on the stage, and renovate the universe. This is the most curious passage in the Edda; it is thus expressed, in the translation we have mentioned.

"There will come a time," says the Edda, "a "barbarous age, an age of the sword, when iniquity "shall infest the earth, when brothers shall stain "themselves with brothers blood, when sons shall "be the murderers of their fathers, and fathers of "their sons, when incest and adultery shall be "common, when no man shall spare his friend. "Immediately shall succeed a desolating winter; "the snow shall fall from the four corners of the "world, the winds shall blow with fury, the whole "earth shall be hard bound in ice. Three such "winters shall pass away, without being softened

" by one summer. Then shall succeed astonishing
" prodigies: then shall the monsters break their
" chains and escape: the great dragon shall roll
" himself in the ocean, and with his motions the
" earth shall be overflowed: the earth shall be
" shaken; the trees shall be torn up by the roots;
" the rocks shall be dashed against each other.
" The wolf Fenris, broke loose from his chains,
" shall open his enormous mouth which reaches
" from heaven to earth; the fire shall flash out
" from his eyes and nostrils; he shall devour the
" sun: and the great dragon who follows him,
" shall vomit forth upon the waters and into the
" air, great torrents of venom. In this confusion
" the stars shall fly from their places, the heaven
" shall cleave asunder, and the army of evil genii
" and giants, conducted by Sortur (the black) and
" followed by Loke, shall break in, to attack the
" gods. But Heimdal, the door-keeper of the gods,
" rises up; he sounds the clanging trumpet; the
" gods awake and assemble; the great ash-tree
" shakes its branches; heaven and earth are full
" of horror and affright. The gods fly to arms;
" the heroes place themselves in battle-array. Odin
" appears armed in his golden casque and his re-
" plendent cuirass; his vast scimetar is in his
" hands. He attacks the wolf Fenris; he is de-
" voured by him, and Fenris perishes at the same
" instant. Thor is suffocated in the floods of
" venom which the dragon breathes forth as he

" expires. Loke and Heimdal mutually kill each
" other. The fire consumes every thing, and the
" flame reaches up to heaven. But presently after,
" a new earth springs forth from the bosom of the
" waves, adorned with green meadows; the fields
" there bring forth without culture, calamities are
" there unknown, a palace is there raised more
" shining than the sun, all covered with gold. This
" is the place that the just will inhabit, and enjoy
" delights for evermore. Then the powerful, the
" valiant, *he who governs all things*, comes forth
" from his lofty abodes, to render divine justice.
" He pronounces decrees: he establishes the sacred
" destinies which shall endure for ever. There is
" an abode remote from the sun, the gates of which
" face the north; poison rains there through a
" thousand openings: this place is all composed of
" the carcasses of serpents: there run certain tor-
" rents, in which are plunged the perjurers, assas-
" sins, and those who seduce married women. A
" black, winged dragon flies incessantly around,
" and devours the bodies of the wretched who are
" there imprisoned."

APPENDIX.

TWO DISSERTATIONS.

I. On the Truth of *The Narrative of a Great Council of the Jews on the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, published in The Phœnix in* 1707; with the Narrative subjoined:—referred to by Note I. in the First Part of the Horæ Biblicæ.

II. A short Historical Outline of the Disputes respecting the Authenticity of *The Verse of The Three Heavenly Witnesses, or* 1 *John, Chap. V. ver.* 7. Addressed to the Reverend Herbert Marsh: referred to by Note II. in the First Part of the Horæ Biblicæ.

APPENDIX.

Appendix I.

A Dissertation on the Truth of the Narrative of a Great Council of the Jews, on the Plain of Ageda, in Hungary, in 1650.

THE following Narrative of a Council of Jews on the Plain of Ageda, about thirty leagues from Buda, in 1650, was inserted in the private edition of this Essay.

The writer had not formed an opinion of its credibility; but, as he found that it had been inserted in the *Phœnix* and the *Harleian Miscellany*, two collections in high estimation, and that it had been cited and appealed to, by authors of great character in the republic of letters, and, as the contents of it, if true, are interesting, he thought it deserved to attract the attention of the curious. In the second and third editions of this Essay it was omitted: but, as several persons have expressed to the writer a wish to see it in the present, he inserts it accordingly.

I.

It was *first published in* 1655, in a quarto pamphlet, printed for Richard Moon, at the Seven

Stars in St. Paul's church-yard, near the great north door.

It was afterwards published in "*The Phœnix:* "or a Revival of scarce and valuable Pieces from "the remotest Antiquity down to the present "times: being a collection of Manuscripts and "printed Tracts, no where to be found but in the "closets of the curious. By a Gentleman who "has made it his business to search after such "pieces for twenty years past. London, printed "for J. Morphew, near Stationers Hall, 1707." 2 vols. octavo.—The Narrative is the 14th article of the 1st volume of this collection.—It has not been discovered who was the compiler of the Phœnix; but it seems to be a collection generally esteemed: and it certainly contains several curious and interesting articles.

The Narrative is also inserted in the first volume of the celebrated *Harleian Miscellany*. In each of these collections it is printed without any account of Mr. Brett the writer of it, and without any observation on its contents.

An extract of Mr. Samuel Brett's Relation is also inserted in a duodecimo pamphlet, with the following title: *Two journeys to Jerusalem, containing, First, a strange and true account of the Travels of two English Pilgrims some years since, and what admirable accidents befel them in their journey to Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c. By H. T. Secondly, The Travels of fourteen Englishmen in* 1669, *from Scanderoon to Tripoly, Joppa, Ramah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem,*

Jericho, the River Jordan, the Lake of Sodom and Gomorrah, and back again to Aleppo. By T. B. With the rare Antiquities, Monuments and Memorable Places and Things mentioned in holy Scripture: and an exact Description of the Old and New Jerusalem, &c. To which is added, a Relation of the Great Council of the Jews assembled on the Plains of Ajay-day, in Hungaria, in 1650, *to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ. By S. B. an Englishman there present. With an Account of the wonderful Delusion of the Jews, by a counterfeit Messiah or false Christ at Smyrna, in* 1666, *and the Event thereof. Lastly, the Fatal and Final Extirpation and Destruction of the Jews throughout Persia in* 1666, *and the remarkable occasion thereof. Collected by R. B. and beautified with Pictures. London, printed by Nath. Crouch, at the Bell in the Poultry, near Cheapside*, 1692.

It contains an engraving, not very well executed, of the supposed meeting. It is immediately followed by a brief chronology concerning the Jews, in which the author expresses himself as follows: "Ye have also heard what was resolved upon, of "the same nature, to be acted in the year 1653, "of which though we cannot give a relation, (not "knowing whether Mr. Samuel Brett lived to that "day, and had liberty to keep his promise of being "there, or if he lived, whether he wrote the rela-"tion of that year's meeting, or whether the man "be yet alive); yet we have little cause to doubt, "but the said meeting, (so publicly and solemnly

" appointed, and of so grand a matter) was punc-
" tually observed and celebrated, according to the
" set time and place; though we so remotely
" distant from them have not heard thereof. Yet
" this we have heard, about that time, or presently
" after, that some ancient Rabbies cautioned their
" countrymen, that, if their expected Messiah did
" not come in a few years, thence following, they
" should embrace the Christian Messiah for the
" true Messiah."

The work is preceded by a preface, in which the publisher says, that " the Relations were all written " by several Englishmen of undoubted veracity " and credit, and who were upon the places where " these remarkable things were transacted, and " therefore need not beg, but may rather command " belief."

An account of the Council, copied from the Narrative, is also inserted in the interesting *History of the Dispersion of the Jews, published in the eleventh volume of the Modern Universal History,* p. 141; the authors of the work refer to Brett's Narrative in the Phœnix, but refer to no other authority.

This part of the Universal History is supposed to have been written by Psalmanazer: and, as he was a person of real learning, and very conversant in Hebrew literature, and probably lived much with Jews, his insertion of it is a circumstance in favour of its credibility.

Mr. Brett's narrative is inserted in the Bishop of Clogher's *Dissertation on Prophecy,*—and it

is mentioned and treated as authentic by Dr. Owen, in his *Essay on Image Worship*, by Mr. Richards of Oxford, and lately, by Mr. Whitaker in his *History of Arianism.*

It is cited, from the Phœnix, in Wolfii *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Pars secunda, p. 1019:—in the *Acta Eruditorum*, *Leipziæ*, 1709, *p.* 104—in Fabricius's *Delectus Argumentorum et Syllabus Scriptorum qui veritatem Religionis Christianæ adversus Athæos, Epicureos, Deistas seu Naturalistas, Idolatras, Judæos et Muhamedeanos, lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt*, printed *at Hamburgh*, 1725, p. 594.

It is also mentioned by Dr. Jortin, in his *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vol. 340, 2 Edit.

The Plain of Ageda does not appear in any map, or in any geographical work which has come to the knowledge of the writer of these sheets.—On the borders of Hungary and Transilvania, a large tract of level country lies between the Danube and the Theys, which in Vischer's map is called *Campus Cumanorum*, divided, by Busching's account, between the Cumani and Jazyges. On the Theys, is *Seged* or *Segedinum*, the principal town of the county of Bodrock, famous for its sieges by the Turks and Imperialists:—this level country *may be* the scene of Mr. Brett's narrative.

It is observable, that, one of the occurrences which Mr. Brett says he met with in his travels, was, "The strangling of the Great Turk by the "Janizaries, and their enthronement of his son."

This accords with history;—Sultan Ibrahim was dethroned and strangled on the 28th of July 1649, and his son Mahomet the fourth was immediately raised to the throne.

It also is observable, that, at the time assigned for the meeting, the Jews were in great expectation of the immediate appearance of the Messiah: and many of them confidently asserted he existed on earth. Zeigler, a rabbi of great consideration among them, professed to have seen the Messiah at Strasburgh.

Mr. Brett says, that the propounder at the meeting, was called Zacharias, and that he was of the tribe of Levi:—now we are informed by the authors of the Universal History, that, at the time of the council, there was a rabbi Zacharias, in high credit at Vienna, both with the court and his brethren. Under leave of the emperor, he built a stately synagogue, and founded and endowed an academy of rabbins, who were to read lectures on the Thalmud night and day; so that the school was always to be open, and some doctors always teaching in it: this circumstance makes it probable, that, if the meeting iu question took place, the rabbi Zacharias, would preside, or at least take an active part at it.

II.

On the other hand, the narrative was no sooner published than it was pronounced fabulous by Manasseh Ben Israel, a learned rabbi. In his *Vindiciæ Judæorum, or A Letter in answer to certain*

questions propounded by a noble and learned Gentleman, touching the Reproaches cast on the Nation of the Jews; wherein all objections are candidly and yet fully cleared,—the 24th article of the second volume of the Phœnix, but first published in 1756,—he writes as follows:

" Love and hatred," says Plutarch, " corrupt " the truth of every thing, as experience sufficiently " declares it; when we see that which comes to " pass, that one and the same thing, in one and " the same city, at one and the same time, is related " in different manners. I myself, in my own ne- " gotiation here, have found it so. For it hath " been rumoured abroad, that our nation had pur- " chased St. Paul's church, for to make it their " synagogue, notwithstanding it was formerly a " temple consecrated to Diana. And many other " things have been reported of us, that never " entered into the thoughts of our nation; as I " have seen a fabulous narrative of the proceedings " of the great council of the Jews, assembled on " the plain of Ageda in Hungary, to determine " whether the Messiah were come or no."

Now, on the point under consideration, the authority of Manasseh Ben Israel is very great: he was skilled not only in Jewish, but in general literature; and was highly esteemed not only by Jews, but by Christians; he carried on a literary correspondence with men of letters of all countries, and at the very time of the publication in question, he was negotiating with Cromwell the return of the Jews into England. It is improbable that, in

these circumstances, he should be ignorant of the meeting, or that he should pronounce it fabulous, if it really took place.

The *Vindiciæ Judæorum* was published in 1658, about one year after Mr. Brett's narrative appeared: Mr. Brett was therefore called on to vouch for the truth of the narrative; but it does not appear to have been defended by himself or any other person.

Basnage says nothing of the council;—now it should seem impossible that Basnage should be ignorant of it, if it really took place; and the nature of his history particularly called on him to mention it.

The writer of these sheets has caused much inquiry, respecting the existence of the council, to be made among the Jews on the continent. His inquiries there have not led to the discovery of a single Jew who has heard of the council. The English Jews are equally ignorant of it; they treat the narrative as a fable.

With respect to *the internal credibility of the Narrative*:—it seems probable that if there had been such a meeting, as is described by Mr. Brett, some circumstances mentioned by him, would, (at least in a certain degree), have taken place at it.—That some inquiry would have been made to ascertain the real Judaism of those who claimed a right of voting; that some of the members would have pretended to be of the tribe of Levi; that something like the ancient sects of Pharisees and Sadducees would have appeared among them; that some Roman-catholic divines would have attended

at the meeting to avail themselves of the opportunity of making conversions among the Jews; and that the Jews would have refused them an hearing, aud reviled their devotion to the saints;—all this, as described by Brett, would, probably, have happened;—but, that any meeting of the kind should have taken place; that it should have proceeded with the order and regularity described by Mr. Brett; that the pope, the king of Hungary and the sultan, (the two last then at war), should have given permission for it; that any number of Jews should for a moment have appeared to think it probable that Christ was the Messiah; that, under the circumstances in which they assembled, they should openly and loudly have reviled Christ by calumnies and blasphemies; that they should have taken into consideration, what Mr. Brett calls the main query, "if Christ were come, what rules and "orders he left his church to walk by;" or that they should have agreed to meet the following year in Syria; is certainly very improbable.—It is also observable that, we have no account whatever of this second meeting.

Mr. Brett says, that the number of Jews assembled was 800; and that 500 of them were refused, because they could not prove themselves by record to be true born Jews, or could not dispute in Hebrew. Now the inability of 500 to establish their Judaic extraction, by such proof as the remaining 300 could have produced, seems unlikely;—and with respect to the ability of the remaining 300 to dispute in Hebrew, (by which we must understand

the rabbinical dialect of Hebrew), it must, to every person who has paid any attention to the general state of Jewish literature, appear incredible that the whole world should furnish 300 Jews, who could hold a conversation in that language: and if there were 300, how very few of them could have attended the meeting in question? The Jews themselves acknowledge, that the number of those, who understand the rabbinical language, is extremely small: "*Paucissimi sunt Hebræi, qui Hebræam* "*linguam, nedum Talmud, vel alios Rabbinorum* "*libros, intelligunt,*" are the words of the rabbi Otto, quoted by Wagenseil, *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, p. 119.—If the number of those, who understand the rabbinical language, be so very small, how much smaller must be the number of those who speak it? How, therefore, could Mr. Brett's 300, *Hebræo ore loquentes*, have been collected?

Upon the whole, the writer agrees with the Leipzig critics, in the *Acta Eruditorum*, "that "the narrative contains several things, which, if "they do not make its truth altogether doubtful, "certainly show the author was ignorant of Jewish "affairs: ceterum," say these critics, "sunt in "eâ relatione non nulla, quæ, si plane dubiam "fidem ejus non reddant, rerum saltem Judaica- "rum ignorantiæ auctorem arguunt."

Such also appears to have been the opinion of Dr. Jortin.

It may be added, that the mention made by Mr. Brett, of the places into which he travelled, (p. 348 of this Appendix), is very confused: it has

much the appearance of fable, and is expressed in such a manner as must make an intelligent reader suspect the writer's being an ignorant man.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a GREAT COUNCIL of JEWS, assembled on the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty leagues from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the 12th of October 1650. By Samuel Brett, there present. Also, a Relation of some other Observations in his Travels beyond the Seas. First printed in 1655.

TO THE READER.

THERE was nothing I more desired than to travel beyond the seas, and to know the various manners of the nations of the world: for which, through God's providence, I had an opportunity offered me, to my great satisfaction, being chirurgeon of an English ship in the Straits, where, for a cure that I did for Orlando de Spina of Gollipulo, an eminent man in those parts, I was by him preferred to be a captain of a ship of Malta, which was set out by the said Orlando, and committed to my command against the Turks in the Arches, in assistance to the Venetian service: in which service I spent about nine months, till the tempestuous season of the year enforced me to return into harbour again. And in this time of employment, I

made five fights at sea, and two at land; being chosen by lot to invade the Turks country, with a certain company of soldiers collected out of our fleet, to do some execution upon the borders of the enemy, and to get some provision for our relief; in all which fights (although very perilous) God gave me the victory.

The whole time I spent beyond the seas, before and after this employment, was almost four years, not staying long in any one place. But first I travelled to all the sea towns of note for merchandising, to know the trade of the places, and the conveniency of their harbours, that I might be able to do some profitable service in merchants affairs. Also I travelled into several countries, and the most eminent cities and towns therein; viz. Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicilia, Assyria, Sclavonia, some parts of Spain and Portugal; to the islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, Delphos; to Carthage, Corinth, Troy, Constantinople; besides many other towns and places: but my longest abode was in Italy, and therein at Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bolognia, Mantua, Genoa, &c. And at last looking homeward, I came into France; taking a brief view of many eminent places in that kingdom. And at Paris I found many of my countrymen (of which, though some be persons of great quality, yet) God knoweth they are in a low condition. And now I shall give a brief account of some of my observations, during the time of my abode beyond the seas.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, &c.

At Paris our countrymen live peaceably, and enjoy our religion without disturbance. There is a place allowed them, with necessary accommodations for the exercise of religion. Dr. Steward did often preach to them; and for their form of worship, it is the same that was formerly in England, with the book of Common Prayer, and the rites therein used; and also they continue the innovations that were practised by many of our clergy, as bowing at the name of Jesus towards the altar, &c. which I know giveth offence to the good French protestants, who to me did often condemn those innovations for Romish superstitions. Doubtless they would do our church and our religion more credit there, if they did use less ceremony. As for the French papists, truly they are more civil to them than was expected: for the opinion of the world, where I have been, is but mean of that nation. And I believe the Italian may be their cousin-german, for both of them are false and faithless enough. And this consideration (God having taken away Orlando my noble friend, who did always much countenance me) did lessen my affection to continue in that service; for my soldiers were all Italians (except a few Greeks) and I never saw much cause to be confident in their fidelity; but it was chiefly for fear of him, that they were so tractable to me.

As for religion, in most parts where I have been, it is generally the same with the church of Rome; but for the Grecians (for amongst them I was) they are neither pure protestants nor pure papists; I mean, neither only protestants nor only papists, but their religion is a mixture of both: for though they hold some fundamentals with us, yet they follow many of the Romish superstitions; and (according to my observation) they follow more the religion of Rome, than the protestant church; and they are much poisoned with heresies.

But of all nations, according to my observation, none are more zealous for the religion of Rome than the Spaniards, who, I think, for this are more Romanists than the Romans themselves; for with them there is an inquisition, and in Rome I never heard of the same dangerous snare: there I had as much freedom as I could desire, and more courtesy than I could expect, without any temptation to apostatize from my religion.

As for the occurrences that I met with, they were many: but these four were the most considerable:

First, The strangling of the great Turk by the Janizaries, at which time there was great fear and trouble in Constantinople; but they enthroned his son, and this brought a peaceable settlement. And with him there were cut off divers Bashas heads; all whose heads (excepting the great Turk's) lay three days in chargers before the palace-gate, for the public view of the people; which they say is the custom for the noblemen that are beheaded.

The next thing is, the flowing of the river Nilus in Egypt; the manner whereof is this: it beginneth to flow about the fifteenth of June every year: the people know the time thereof, and expect it accordingly; and this is after their harvest, which is usually ended about the beginning of May. As for rain, there seldom falleth any in Egypt. During the time the river is up, all the country appeareth like islands. Their towns are seated upon hills, and their lower grounds are all covered with waters; and the inhabitants use small boats to pass from place to place about their affairs: and because they know the yearly flowing of Nilus, they provide for the safety of their cattle till the waters are wasted away again. There are also certain pillars of stone set up, with divers marks upon them, by which they know the degrees of the rising, and the usual height that the waters do ascend unto; and if the waters do ascend above the highest mark, they do expect some strange consequence thereof. But the greatest wonder is, the present cessation of the plague upon the flowing of this river. There died some thousands of the plague the day before the flowing of Nilus in Grand Cairo, as they certified me; and a day or two after, not one person more died of the infection. This I observed, that the land is full of unhealthy fogs, mists, and vapours, which cause the disease; and it seems the waters of Nilus do purify it again.

In the kingdom of Grand Cairo, alias Pharaoh's town, is the city, and it is greater than any elsewhere I did behold; but Memphis is the neater

city: and being there, I went to see the land of Goshen, where the Israelites did inhabit. This is a very pleasant and fruitful land for pasture, such as I have no where seen the like. At this time also, I had an opportunity to see the Red Sea, and the place where (as they informed me) the Israelites did enter their journey through the same. There also they shewed me the great mountains that inclosed them, when Pharaoh pursued them with his great army; and the hills where the two armies lay in sight one of another. And there I found the true reason why it is called the Red Sea; not because the water is red naturally, but because the sand is red: and this was clear to me by plain demonstration; for I put some of the water into a clean vessel, and there I did see it had the same colour of other water; but the sand is reddish, and giveth the same colour to the water.

I shall omit many other things concerning Egypt; only this, it is under the Turk's dominion, and the natives are his miserable slaves.

Thirdly, You may expect some news from Rome, where also I was, and did behold their great solemnity; it being then the Anno Sancto, as they there call it, that is, the year of Jubilee.

There I beheld the pope in his glory, and how in great state he was carried about the city: the streets were thronged with the people; and as he passed by, they made them even ring with acclamations and rejoicings: he was carried by some eminent men, having a rich canopy over him. He made his crosses in the air with his fingers, and

threw his blessings amongst them. And truly these delusions were so prevailing with the people, that (poor souls) they seemed to me to rejoice, as if Christ himself had been come to Rome, and brought them down the felicities of heaven.

At one time I beheld in Naples (perhaps it will seem strange, but it is true) about eight thousand pilgrims going to Rome for their absolution; all which the viceroy of Naples maintained three days at his own charge; and on the fourth day, they did present themselves before him at his palace in pilgrim weeds, viz. with leaden pictures of saints in their hats, with leather collars about their necks, which fell down half way over their arms, and their staves in their hands: and thus they marched away from Naples, in the posture of an army towards Rome; and so farewell Rome. *Vidi, satis est vidisse.*

I omit to recite many other occurrences, which by conference I shall willingly communicate to my friends, they being too many to commit to writing: only now the fourth remarkable thing remaineth to present you with; and that is, *The proceedings of a great council of Jews, assembled in the plain of Ageda in Hungary,* about thirty leagues distant from Buda, to examine the scriptures concerning Christ; on the 12th of October, 1650.

It hath been much desired by many honest christians, that this narrative of the Jews' council should be published, which I did intend only to communicate to private friends. The chief argument by which they have persuaded me to do it, is,

because they do conceive it to be a preparative and hopeful sign of the Jews' conversion, and that it will be glad tidings to the church of Christ; and therefore I have yielded to satisfy their desires therein. And thus it was:

At the place above named there assembled about three hundred rabbies, called together from several parts of the world, to examine the scriptures concerning Christ; and it seems this place was thought most convenient for this council, in regard that part of the country was not much inhabited, because of the continual wars between the Turk and the king of Hungary; where (as I was informed) they had fought two bloody battles: yet both princes, notwithstanding their own differences, did give leave to the Jews to hold their council there. And for their accommodation there, the Jews did make divers tents for their repose, and had plenty of provision brought them from other parts of the country, during the time of their sitting there. There was also one large tent, built only for the council to sit in, made almost foursquare; the north and the south part of it, being not altogether so large as the east and west part thereof. It had but one door, and that opened to the east; and in the middle thereof stood a little table and a stool for the propounder to sit on, with his face towards the door of the tent. The said propounder was of the tribe of Levi, and was named Zacharias; and within this tent round about were placed divers forms for the consulters to sit on. It was also inclosed with a rail, that stood at a distance from it, to prevent

entrance to all strangers, and to all such Jews as could not prove themselves to be Jews by record, or could not dispute in the Hebrew tongue, which many had forgotten, who lived in such countries, where they are not allowed their synagogues, as in France, Spain, and those parts of Italy that do belong to the king of Spain, viz. the kingdom of Naples, with the province of Calabria and Apuleia; the kingdom of Sicilia and Sardinia; in which places if a Jew be found, and he deny the popish religion, he is in danger to be condemned and executed for it; and yet profit and benefit allureth them to dwell in those countries, notwithstanding their fears and dangers: and themselves are willing to forget, and so neglect to teach their children their native language, rather than they will lose their opportunity of profit: and some have burnt the ancient records of their tribe and family, that they might not be discovered by searching, or otherwise. And for this defect, that they could not prove their tribe or family, they were not permitted to come within the rail, but were commanded to remain without, with the strangers that remained there, to see the issue of their proceeding, which were above three thousand persons, and they were for the most part Germans, Almains, Dalmatians, and Hungarians, with some Greeks; but few Italians, and not one Englishman, that I could hear of, besides myself.

I was informed, that the king of Hungary not favouring the reformed religion, did give no encouragement to any protestant churches to send

any divines thither; but he did allow that some assistants should be sent from Rome: and their coming thither did prove a great unhappiness to this hopeful council.

When the assembly did first meet, they spent some time in their mutual salutations; and, as their manner is, they kissed one the other's cheek, expressing much joy for their happy meeting. And all things being provided for their accommodation, they considered of the Jews that were to be admitted members of this council; and they were only allowed to be members, which could by record prove themselves to be native Jews; and for defect herein, I observed above five hundred refused: though doubtless they were true born Jews, yet they could not by record prove themselves so to be; and for this they were not admitted to be members of the council, but they did abide without the rail with the strangers that were there: and the number of them that were accepted to be members, was about three hundred Jews. And this was all that was done the first day.

On the second day, the assembly being full, the propounder stood up, and made his speech concerning the end of their meeting: and, *This*, said he, *is to examine the scriptures concerning Christ, whether he be already come, or whether we are yet to expect his coming.* In examining this question, they searched the Old Testament with great care and labour, to be resolved of the truth thereof, having many Bibles with them there for this end. And about this point there were great disputes

amongst them. The major part were of opinion, that he was not come: and some inclined to think that he was come; being moved thereunto by their great judgment, that hath continued now these sixteen hundred years upon them.

I remember very well one of the council in his conference with me, seemed to be very apprehensive of the great and long desolation of their nation, ever since their destruction by the Roman emperors; and he imputed this their affliction to their impenitency. And comparing their present judgment, with their other judgments they had suffered before, he ingenuously confessed, that he did conceive it was for some great wickedness; and that their nation was guilty of the blood of the prophets sent from God to their nation, and the many massacres that had been committed by the several sects and factions amongst them. *For* (said he) *we are no idolaters, neither do I think we were guilty of idolatry since our captivity in Babylon; and therefore* (said he) *I do impute this our calamity and present judgment to the forenamed causes.* And this was the sum of that which was disputed amongst them the second day of their meeting; and so they adjourned till the next morning, which was the third day of their meeting.

When being assembled together again, the point that was chiefly agitated was concerning the manner of Christ's coming. And this, some said, shall be like a mighty prince, in the full power and authority of a king, yea, in greater power than ever any king had; and that he will deliver their

nation out of the power of their enemies, and their temple shall be rebuilt again; and, that the nations shall be of their religion, and worship God after their manner. For they hold, that the Messiah will not alter their religion, whensoever he cometh. And further, concerning his parentage, they did agree in this, that he should be born of a virgin, according to the prediction of the prophets; and they agreed also, that he may be born of such a virgin, which might be of mean note amongst their nation, as was the Virgin Mary. And here some of them seemed to me, to incline to think that Christ was come. Therefore when they came together again the next day, the propounder demanded of them, if Christ were already come, and who they thought he was? and to this demand they gave this answer, that they thought Eliah was he, if he were come, because he came with great power, which he declared by slaying the priests of Baal; and, for the fulfilling of the scripture, he was oppressed by Ahab and Jezabel: yet they esteemed him to be more than a mortal man, because he so strangely ascended up into heaven. And because this opinion was contradicted by others, the day following they took into examination the same question, to answer them that said Eliah was not the Messiah. They of the contrary opinion did urge the care and love of Eliah for the good of their nation, in that he left them Elisha his disciple to teach and instruct the people; which they expect to be the care of their Messiah. These were the chief arguments they had to defend their opinion: and the same day, towards night, it came into

question amongst them, what he then was that said he was the Son of God, and was crucified by their ancestors? And because this was the great question amongst them, they deferred the further consideration thereof until the next day.

When meeting again, the Pharisees (for some of this sect were amongst them, that were always the enemies of Christ) they first began to answer this last night's question; and these by no means would yield that he was the Christ; and these reasons they gave for their opinion.

First, Because (said they) he came into the world like an ordinary and inferior man, not with his scepter, nor royal power; wherewith they affirmed the coming of Christ should be glorious. Secondly, They pleaded against him the meanness of his birth, in that his father was a carpenter; and this they said, was a dishonour that Christ should not be capable of. Thirdly, They accused him to be an enemy to Moses's law, in suffering his disciples, and in doing works himself that were prohibited on the Sabbath-day; for they believe that the Messiah will punctually and exactly keep the law of Moses: and where the gospel doth testify of Christ, that he did fulfil the law, they reject the testimony thereof, because they do not own the gospel. But I observed these reasons of the Pharisees did not satisfy all that heard them, but there still remained some doubt in some of them concerning Christ; for there stood up one rabbi called Abraham, and objected against the Pharisees, the miracles that Christ wrought whilst he was

upon earth, as his raising of the dead to life again, his making the lame to walk, the blind to see, and the dumb to speak. And the same Abraham demanded of the Pharisees, by what power he did these miracles? The answer the Pharisees returned to him, was to this purpose: they said he was an impostor and a magician; and blasphemously traduced him of doing all his miracles by magic: thus, said they, he first caused them to be blind, to be dumb, to be lame; and then by taking away his magical charm, they were restored to their former condition. Nevertheless, this answer gave little satisfaction to the said Abraham: but thus he replied, that he could not charm those that were born in that condition, as blind, &c. and born also before Christ himself was born; as it appeareth some of them were. This seemed to him an absurd paradox; and truly the pressing of this argument did almost put them to a nonplus, till at last they had this evasion, though weak and vile. They were, said they, by other magicians convinced to be so in their mothers' wombs; and that although himself were not then born when they were born with these evils, yet he being a great dissembler, and more cunning than any magician before him, power was given him by the devil, to remove those charms which others had placed. And there was one Pharisee named Zebedee, who of the Pharisees there did most opprobriously revile him, and vehemently urge these things against him; but I conceive he did it not to the well-liking of many there that heard him, even members of the council.

And as the Pharisees that day played their parts against him; so did the Sadducees also endeavour (for some of that sect were also of the council) to render Christ vile and odious to the rest of the Jews that were assembled there. I observed it was with them, as it was once with Herod and Pilate; though they two could not agree betwixt themselves at other times, yet they could agree together to crucify Christ: for the Pharisees and Sadducees, though they be much divided in opinion among themselves, yet did they at this time too much agree to disgrace and to dishonour Christ with their lies, calumnies and blasphemies: for the Sadducees, as well as the Pharisees, did in other things accuse him for a grand impostor, and for a broacher of corrupt doctrine; in that in his gospel he teacheth the resurrection from the dead, which they there denied to be true doctrine: but it is no new thing to see factions dissenting, to agree in some evil design against others, as I found it by experience. Being at Rome in the year 1650, which was the year of their jubilee, there was a great strife between the jesuits and the friars of the order of St. Dominick, both which were against the protestants: and although their differences have been by the care and vigilance of the pope so smothered, that the world hath not taken much notice thereof; yet this fire broke out into a flame greater than ever it was before, (as they certified me there) both by public disputings, and by bitter writings one against another, opening the vices and errors of one another's faction, thus seeking to disgrace one the

other; which caused the pope to threaten to excommunicate the authors of all such black and libellous books, that did tend to the dishonour of his clergy and religion, to make them infamous to the world. But this by the way.

We are come now to the seventh and last day of their council; and on this day, this was the main query amongst them: if Christ be come, then what rules and orders hath he left his church to walk by? This was a great question amongst them: and because they did not believe the New Testament, nor would be guided by it, they demanded some other instruction to direct and guide them in this point: thereupon six of the Roman clergy (who of purpose were sent from Rome by the pope, to assist in this council) were called in, viz. two jesuits, two friars of the order of St. Augustine, and two of the order of St. Francis. And these being admitted into the council, began to open unto them the rules and doctrine of the holy church of Rome, (as they call it) which church they magnified to them for the holy catholic church of Christ, and their doctrine to be the infallible doctrine of Christ, and their rules to be the rules which the apostles left to the church for ever to be observed, and that the pope is the holy vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter: and for instance in some particulars they affirmed the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, the religious observation of their holy days, the invocation of saints, praying to the virgin Mary, and her commanding power in heaven over her Son, the holy use of the cross and images, with

the rest of their idolatrous and superstitious worship; all which they commended to the assembly of the Jews, for the doctrine and rules of the apostles. But so soon as the assembly had heard these things from them, they were generally and exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high clamours against them and their religion, crying out, *No Christ, no woman God, no intercession of saints, no worshipping of images, no praying to the Virgin Mary, &c.* Truly their trouble hereat was so great, that it troubled me to see their impatience: they rent their clothes, and cast dust upon their heads, and cried out aloud, *blasphemy, blasphemy*; and upon this the council broke up. Yet they assembled again the eighth day; and all that was done then, was to agree upon another meeting of their nation three years after; which was concluded upon before their final dissolution.

I do believe there were many Jews there that would have been persuaded to own the Lord Jesus; and this I assure you for a truth, and it is for the honour of our religion, and the encouragement of our divines: one eminent rabbi there did deliver me his opinion in conference with me, that he at first feared that those which were sent from Rome, would cause an unhappy period to their council; and professed to me, that he much desired the presence of some protestant divines, and especially of our English divines, of whom he had a better opinion, than of any other divines in the world: for he did believe that we have a great love to their nation; and this reason he gave me for their good

opinion of our divines, because he understood that they did ordinarily pray for the conversion of their nation; which he did acknowledge to be a great token of our love towards them: and especially he commended the ministers of London for excellent preachers, and for their charity towards their nation; of whom he had heard a great fame. As for the church of Rome, they account it an idolatrous church, and therefore will not own their religion: and by conversing with the Jews, I found that they generally think, that there is no other Christian religion in the world, but that of the church of Rome; and for Rome's idolatry, they take offence at all Christian religion. By which it appeareth that Rome is the greatest enemy of the Jews conversion.

For the place of the Jews next meeting, it is probable it will be in Syria, in which country I also was, and did there converse with the sect of the Rechabites, living in Syria. They still observe their old customs and rules; they neither sow nor plant, nor build houses; but live in tents, and often remove from one place to another, with their whole family, bag and baggage. And seeing I find, that by the Italian tongue I can converse with the Jews, or any other nation, in all the parts of the world where I have been; if God give me an opportunity, I shall willingly attend their next council. *The good Lord prosper it.* Amen.

Appendix II.

A short Historical Outline of the Disputes respecting the authenticity of *The Verse of The Three Heavenly Witnesses, or* 1 *John, chap. V. ver.* 7.

To the Reverend Herbert Marsh.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to inscribe, with your respectable name, a short outline I have drawn of the *History of the Controversy respecting the celebrated Verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses.*

Mr. Archdeacon Travis and Mr. Porson's letters I read, as they made their appearance; and I need not tell you, how much I was gratified with *your Letters to the Archdeacon.*—As they came in my way, I perused several of the earlier authors, who had distinguished themselves in the different stages of the controversy: and, according to my usual custom, committed to paper, notes of what I read, and remarks upon it. This, however, was entirely for my own information; and without the slightest view to a regular work, of any kind, upon the subject.

That they appear before you, in the following form, is principally owing to an accidental conversation I had, with a literary gentleman, on the general lawfulness of suppressing truth, when the disclosure of it, may prejudice a favourite cause, or scandalize the weak. Incidentally, your Dissertation *On the Origin of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke* was mentioned. He allowed the learning and ingenuity displayed in it, but expressed his concern, that it was published, as, he said, it would be considered by many, as affording a strong argument against the divine inspiration of the gospels. I took the liberty of observing to him, that, in point of fact, it afforded no ground for such an argument: I referred him to Fleury's admirable chapter, *Qu'il faut dire la vérité toute entiére*, in his fourth discourse: I cited to him, the passage in one of Sir William Jones's discourses, in which he remarks that "all his historical researches "had confirmed the Mosaic accounts of the primi- "tive world; and that his testimony on that "subject ought to have the greater weight, because, "if the result of his observations had been totally "different, he should, however, have published "them; not indeed with equal pleasure, but with "equal confidence; for truth is mighty, and, what- "ever be its consequences, must always prevail." I observed to him, that, though I was a firm believer in the divine inspiration of the sacred writings, I thought it an error to suppose, that the truth of Christianity cannot be supported, unless it can be proved that the sacred writings are divinely

inspired; for that, though they should be entitled to no more credit, than the histories of Livy or Tacitus, or the Memoirs of Comines or Froissart, still they would contain sufficient evidence of the actions, the miracles and the morality of Christ, to satisfy the strongest understanding. I then suggested to him, that your hypothesis was by no means inconsistent with the belief of the general inspiration of the sacred penmen: that those, who carried furthest, the belief of their inspiration, admitted that the inspired writers might use all human means to procure information on the subjects on which they wrote; that few would deny they had availed themselves of oral testimony, and that so far as inspiration was concerned, there was no essential difference between their writing from hearsay, or from such a document as you contend them to have used. You may suppose, I expressed myself in the highest terms, of your hypothesis; I said, that, till it appeared, nothing satisfactory had been published, which accounted, at the same time, for the literal agreement in some places, and for the literal disagreement in others, of the text of the three gospels; that both their literal agreement and literal disagreement were completely accounted for, by your hypothesis; and that, though I did not take for granted, that it was impossible to account for them on any other, I thought it highly improbable that any other, at least beyond a modification of your hypothesis, would be produced. He observed, that all this would have its weight with a person accustomed to discussions of this kind: but

that, he feared, the notion of the evangelists' using a common document, would, in the minds of many, take so much from the dignity of their character, as, in their opinion, to lessen, considerably, the credibility and authority of their narratives. "For "instance," said he, "the sacred doctrine of the "Trinity rests on no one particular text in the "scriptures; and yet I should be concerned to "find an attack was made on the authenticity of "any one verse, which was thought to afford a "strong argument in its support, and therefore, "I can never think those deserve well of the "Christian world, who have attacked the authen- "ticity of the verse of the *Three Heavenly Wit-* "*nesses.*" This led to a conversation on the authenticity of that celebrated Verse, upon which he seemed very anxious for information. On my mentioning to him, that I had collected some notes on the subject, he desired the perusal of them. In consequence of his request, I have put them into order. Such as they are, I submit them, with great deference to your better judgment: and I am fully sensible, that in addressing them to you, I address them to one of the first biblical scholars of the age.

Dear Sir,
with the greatest respect,
I am your most obliged and obedient
humble servant,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's Inn,
4th Nov. 1805.

I. JOHN, Chap. v. Ver. 7.

THE genuineness of the verse of the three heavenly witnesses, or I. John, ch. v. ver. 7. has engaged much of the attention of the learned during the three last centuries; so that, as Mr. Herbert Marsh observes, "there is hardly a "library in all Europe, from the Vatican to the "Bodleian, from Madrid to Moscow, in which "the manuscripts of the Greek Testament have "not been examined, in order to determine, "whether it really proceeded from the pen of "St. John;" and, as Mr. Travis observes, "there "are few subjects, in the walks of philology or "criticism, in which, one simple question, as it "appears on a distant view, expands itself, on "a nearer approach, into so many complicated "branches, and covers so large a field of historical "and theological criticism."

The following sheets may be found to contain I. Some account of the state of the question; II. Of the history of the general admission of The Verse into the printed text; III. And of the principal disputes to which it has given rise; IV. An enquiry whether the general sense of the text is affected by the omission of The Verse; V. Some account of the argument in favour of its authenticity from prescription; VI. Some account of the arguments against it from its absence from the Greek manuscripts; VII. Of the answers to

those arguments, from its supposed existence in the manuscripts of Valla; VIII. From its supposed existence in the manuscripts of the Complutensian editors; IX. And from its supposed existence in the manuscripts used by Robert Stephens; X. Some observations on the argument arising on its not being inserted in the Apostolos or Collection of Epistles read in the Greek Church; XI. On its not being inserted in the oriental versions; XII. On its not being inserted in the most ancient Latin manuscripts; XIII. On the silence of all the Greek fathers respecting it; XIV. On the silence of the most ancient of the Latin fathers respecting it; XV. Some account will then be given of what has been written respecting its first introduction into the Greek and Latin manuscripts.

There are many other important topics for and against the authenticity of The Verse; and several of those which have been mentioned, lead to facts and subjects which are not noticed in these sheets; —but, what is noticed, will, perhaps, be found sufficient to shew the general turn and bearings of the controversy.

I.

The state of the question is as follows: —In the *Textus Receptus*, or received Greek text of the 1st Epistle of St. John, the 7th and 8th verses of the fifth chapter are expressed in these words:

Seventh Verse:

Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν.

Eighth Verse:

Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν ὁ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα: καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν.

In the vulgate, the verses are thus translated:

7th:

Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cœlo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt.

8th:

Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, et aqua, & sanguis: et hi tres in unum sunt.

The question is, whether the whole of the 7th verse,—or, to speak with greater accuracy, whether the words, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ παλὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· και οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν, in the 7th verse, and the words, καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες εν τῇ γῇ, in the 8th verse, are genuine or spurious. If the passage in question be genuine, the text stands properly, as it is now expressed: if it be spurious, it should stand; Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν, in the Greek;—and in the Latin, "Quoniam tres sunt "qui testimonium dant; spiritus, et aqua, et "sanguis: et hi tres in unum sunt."

II.

With respect to the HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ADMISSION OF THE VERSE INTO THE PRINTED TEXT:

1. The first event, which deserves attention, is the insertion of it in the *Latin Vulgate*:—what should be understood by the Vulgate, in this place, will be mentioned afterwards.

2. The second is *Erasmus's insertion of The Verse, in his three last editions of the Greek Testament.*

Erasmus had the honour of being the person who published the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament. He published five editions, in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The Complutensian Polyglott was printed in 1517, and published in 1522. In his edition of 1522, and in his two subsequent editions, Erasmus is supposed to have conformed his text, in different places, to the Complutensian edition: this makes his edition of 1519 the most esteemed of all he published. In his editions of 1516 and 1519, he did not insert The Verse of the Heavenly Witnesses. This gave rise to a dispute between him and Lee, an Englishman, and to a dispute between him and the Spanish divines employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. He promised to restore The Verse, if it could be found in a single Greek manuscript. Such a manuscript was found,—the manuscript now in Trinity College, Dublin, then called the Codex Britannicus, since called the Codex Montfortianus: and,

in consequence of this discovery, Erasmus inserted The Verse in his edition of 1522, and retained it in his two subsequent editions.

3. The third of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the *Complutensian Polyglott.* That noble work was begun in 1502, completed in 1517, and published in 1522.

4. The fourth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse by *Robert Stephens*, in his celebrated edition of the New Testament, in 1550: the text of it, with a very few variations, is similar to that of the fifth edition of Erasmus.

5. The fifth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in *Beza's editions of the Greek Testament:* the first of his editions was published in 1565; he principally follows in it, the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in 1576, 1582, 1589, and 1598; they do not contain every where the same text, but, in all of them, The Verse is inserted.

6. The sixth of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the *Elzevir edition* of the Greek New Testament.

Five several printers of the name and family of Elzevir, are immortalized by the successful labours of their presses. Lewis, the eldest of them, was a printer of distinction in 1505; Daniel, the last of them, died in 1680.

Their edition of the Greek Testament was first printed, at Leyden, in 1624: it was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens: where it varies from that edition, it follows generally, the

edition of Beza: and, like each of those editions, contains The Verse. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated, in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was followed, in all subsequent editions, and, on that account, it deservedly acquired the appellation of Editio Recepta: the editors of it are unknown.

7. The seventh of these events, is the insertion of The Verse in the modern edition of *Luther's translation of the New Testament.* From the translations published by himself, he uniformly rejected it. The last edition, which was in the press, while he was living, but was not quite finished till after his death, was that of 1546. In that, as in all his former editions, it is wholly absent. Luther concludes his preface to that edition, with, what may be termed his dying request, that, upon no account, his translation should be altered, in the slightest instance. The Verse, however, was inserted in the Frankfort edition of 1574; and, for a time, inserted in some, and rejected in other editions: but, since the beginning of the 17th century, with the exception of the Wittenberg edition of 1607, the insertion of it, in the editions of Luther's translation, has been general.

8. It should be added, that the principal printed editions of the Greek New Testament since the Elzevir, are those of *Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, and Greisbach.* The Verse is found in the text of them all:—It is determined by the two first, to be genuine; by the two last, to be spurious. To the credit of all the editors, it should be observed, that,

notwithstanding their particular sentiments, they state, with equal candour and fairness, the arguments for and the arguments against The Verse.

III.

With respect to THE PRINCIPAL DISPUTES TO WHICH IT HAS GIVEN RISE:

1. The first, is *the dispute between Erasmus and Lee, and between Erasmus and the Editors of the Complutensian Polyglott.*

It has been mentioned that Erasmus published five editions of the Greek New Testament. He did not insert The Verse in the two editions of 1516 and 1519. For this, he was reprehended, in the severest terms, by Lee or Ley, an English divine of some note, afterwards advanced, by Henry the eighth, to the archbishoprick of York; and by Stunica, a Spanish divine, employed on the Complutensian Polyglott. In answer to them, he declared his readiness to insert The Verse, if a single manuscript should be found to contain it. As The Verse was inserted in the Complutensian Polyglott, and ought not to have been inserted in it, without the authority of one or more manuscripts, Stunica was bound, in honour, to produce such a manuscript: but he produced none. (For the controversy between Erasmus and Lee, see *Burigni, Vie d'Erasme*, 2 *vol.* 8. *Paris* 1757, 1 *vol.* 372—381;—for the controversy between Erasmus and Stunica, see the same work, 2 vol. 163—175; and for Stunica's attack and Erasmus's defence, see the *Crit. Sac. Tom. vii. p.* 1229). At length, the

Codex Montfortianus, then called the Codex Britannicus, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, was found to contain The Verse. In performance of his promise, Erasmus inserted The Verse in his edition of 1522; and retained it in his editions of 1527, and 1535.

2. *The second dispute*, respecting the authenticity of The Verse, may be considered to have begun with *Sandius* the arian, and to have continued, till the note respecting it, in Mr. Gibbon's History, provoked a fresh dispute.

By Sandius, it was pointedly attacked in his *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, Cosmopoli 1669, 8vo. Col. 1676, 4to. and his *Interpretationes Paradoxæ in Johannem.*

Its authenticity is defended by *Mr. Selden.* In his treatise *de Synedriis Ebræorum*, L. 2. C. 4. S. 4, he sums up the arguments on each side of the question, and pronounces in favour of The Verse.

A regular and able attack on it was made by *father Simon*, in his *Histoire critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rot. 1680, 4to. Part I. ch. 18, Part II. ch. 9, and in several other parts of his writings.

It found a zealous advocate in *Martin*, the Pastor of the church of Utrecht:—in support of it, he published the following works:

Deux Dissertations Critiques, la premiere sur le verset 7 du ch. v. de la premiere Epistre de St. Jean, "Il y a trois au Ciel," &c. dans laquelle on prouve l'authenticité de ce texte. La

seconde sur le passage de Joseph touchant Jesus Christ, ou l'on fait voir que ce passage n'est point supposé Utrecht 1717, 8*vo.*

Examen de la reponse de Monsieur Emlyn a la Dissertation Critique sur le verset 7 *du ch. v. de la* 1 *Epistre de St. Jean, Londres* 1719, 8*vo.*

La verité du Texte de la premiere Epistre de St. Jean, v. 7. *demontreé par des preuves qui sont au dessus de toute exception, prises du temoignage de l'Eglise Latine, et de l'Eglise Grecque, et en particulier d'un manuscript du Nouveau Testament, trouveé en Irlande. Par David Martin, Pasteur de l'Eglise a Utrecht. Utrecht* 1721.

The Verse found an able adversary in Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, an eminent presbyterian divine, whose sufferings for his religious principles, all true christians must lament and reprobate; he attacked it in the following works.

A full enquiry into the original authority of that text, 1 *John,* v. 7. *London,* 1715, 8*vo. re-printed in* 1719, 1757.

An answer to Mr. Martin's critical dissertation, on 1 *John,* v. 7. *London,* 1719, 8*vo.*

Reply to Mr. Martin's examination of the answer. London, 1720.

Martin also met with an able adversary in *Cæsar de Missy*, a native of Berlin, French preacher in the Savoy, and French chaplain at St. James's, the author of *Four Letters against the genuineness of the verse, inserted in the* 8*th and* 9*th volumes of the Journal Britannique.*

The *Bible de Vence*, published at Paris, about the middle of the last century, Tom. xiii. p. 5, contains a candid, learned and sensible Dissertation in favour of The Verse. The author cites in it, *Ketneri Dissertatio hujus loci*, *Dissertatio singularis*; *Roger*, *Dissertatio Critico-Theologica*, *in hunc locum*. *Paris* 1713.

A regular attack upon The Verse, was made by *Dr. Benson*, a presbyterian divine, in his *Paraphrase of the Gospels*, 2 vol. 4to. 1756.

Sir Isaac Newton is the author of a treatise against the genuineness of The Verse. It made its appearance, under the title of, *Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc* 1754, reprinted from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Ekins, dean of Carlisle, in the fifth volume of Dr. Horsley's late edition of Sir Isaac Newton's works.

They are written with the force, candour, and perspicuity, which might be expected from Sir Isaac Newton.

The English opposition to The Verse, in this stage of the controversy, is respectably closed by *Mr. Bowyer*, the learned printer's *Conjectures on the New Testament*, *London*, 4to. 1781.

In the mean time, The Verse had been the subject of much controversy in Germany. Some mention of the principal works which there have made their appearance on this subject, may be found in the note on St. John's first Epistle, in *Schmidius's Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio canonis sacri veteris novique Testamenti*, *Lepsiæ*,

8*vo.* 1774, an excellent publication of the high Lutheran School; in *Bengel's Gnomon*, 2 *vol.* 4*to. Tubingæ* 1773; and in *Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Mr. Herbert Marsh, vol.* 4. *c.* 21.—Michaelis, had, at first, declared himself an advocate for The Verse, in his *Vindiciæ plurium lectionum codicis Græci Novi Testamenti adversus Whistonum et ab eo latas leges criticas, Halæ* 1751; but, afterwards, became one of its most powerful opposers, in his *Historical and Critical Collections, relative to what are called the proof passages, in dogmatic theology.*

3. This leads to *the third stage of the controversy:* in the 118th Note to the 37th Chapter of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (4 vol. p. 545, 4to.), Mr. Gibbon asserts, that "The Three Witnesses have been "established, in our Greek Testament, by the "prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of "the Complutensian editors, the typographical "fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens, in the "placing a crotchet; or the deliberate fraud or "strange misapprehension of Theodore Beza."

This note was attacked by *Mr. Travis*, archdeacon of Chester, in three letters, in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1782. He printed them, with two others, in a separate publication, in quarto, in 1784, and reprinted the five, with considerable further additions, in octavo, in 1786. To these, *Mr. professor Porson* replied in several letters, published in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1788,

1789. In the Magazine for January 1790, another letter, on the subject, appeared from Mr. Travis. Mr. Porson replied to it, in the Magazine of the following month, and soon afterwards, all Mr. Porson's Letters, with additions, which increased their number to twelve, were published in one octavo volume,—an eternal monument of his uncommon erudition, critical sagacity and wit. In 1794, Mr. Travis republished his letters, with considerable additions; he took no particular notice in them, of Mr. Porson's letters to him, but professes to answer, one after another, the arguments of other distinguished opponents of The Verse. In 1795, *Mr. Herbert Marsh* published a series of letters to Mr. Travis, entitled *Letters to Mr. archdeacon Travis, in vindication of one of the Translator's notes to Michaelis's introduction, and in confirmation of the opinion, that a Greek Manuscript now preserved in the public Library of the University of Cambridge is one of the seven, which are quoted by Robert Stephens, at* 1 *John, v.* 7. *with an Appendix, containing a review of Mr. Travis's Collation of the Greek MSS. which he examined at Paris: an extract from Mr. Pappelbaum's Treatise on the Berlin MS. and an Essay on the Origin and Object of the Velesian readings. By the Translator of Michaelis; Leipsig and London,* 1795.

The principal object of Mr. Marsh's letters was, as the title expresses it, to vindicate his assertion, in one of his notes to his translation of Michaelis's introduction, that the Greek manuscript referred

to in the title of his book, is one of the seven, which are quoted by Robert Stephens, at 1 John, v. 7: but his letters abound with most learned, ingenious and profound remarks on almost every point, which comes into consideration, in the discussion of the genuineness of The Verse.

Mr. Clarke has lately circulated among his friends, an interesting pamphlet on the subject of The Verse, with this title, *Observations on the Text of the Three Divine Witnesses, accompanied with a Plate, containing two very correct Fac-Similes of* 1 *John, Chap. V. verse* 7, 8, *and* 9, *as they stand in the first Edition of the New Testament, printed at Complutum,* 1514, *and in the Codex Montfortii, a Manuscript marked C.* 97, *in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By A. Clarke, Manchester,* 1805. It is to be hoped he will put it into public circulation.

Such have been the principal stages of this controversy: the following may be found to contain a distinct view of the principal arguments used by the combatants in support of their opinions.

IV.

The first object of the enquiry, is to ascertain WHETHER THE GENERAL SENSE OR IMPORT OF THE TEXT, IS ASSISTED OR INJURED, BY THE INSERTION OR OMISSION OF The Verse. The ascertainment of this fact, will establish a strong argument for or against the internal evidence of the text. This is an enquiry of some nicety; the

verse is obscure, is susceptible of more than one construction, and the partisans of each opinion, have attempted to fix that sense on it, which best suits their cause.

This much must be granted, that The Verse is not absolutely necessary to the sense of the text. Without it, the text will stand as follows. "Who "is he that overcometh the world, but he, who "believeth that Jesus is the son of God? This "is he, who came by water and blood, even Jesus "the Christ; not, by the water only, but by the "water and the blood. And it is the Spirit who "witnessed: because the spirit is truth. Thus "there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, "and the water, and the blood; and the three "agree in one."

Whatever be its right construction, the sentence is compleat and perfect in itself. Jesus, the Christ, is the person to whom testimony is borne; the spirit, the water, and the blood, are the witnesses bearing testimony to him. Thus without further aid, the construction and meaning of the sentence are compleat. The Verse therefore is not essentially necessary to the text.

V.

1. Erasmus has been stated to have made the first attack on The Verse. At that time, from its general insertion in the manuscript and printed copies of the Latin text, the universal opinion of the Latin church, was in its favour. The text of

these copies had been adopted by the spiritual and temporal courts, appealed to in disputes, taught in the schools, and praised and commented on by the learned men of every state, within the Latin pale. *Prescription* therefore, if prescription be pleadable in these cases, was in its favour.

2. If we believe the opposers of The Verse, the introduction of The Verse, was first owing to the spiritualization of the 8th verse by the African fathers, which became common in the 4th century: The Verse gained little ground till the 8th; and was universally received for genuine in the 12th. It is remarkable, that, not the slightest vestige of opposition to it, is discoverable, in the works of those times, which have reached us; nothing, which intimates, that, even a suspicion had been entertained of the genuineness of The Verse.

3. Here the communicant with the see of Rome takes an higher ground. The council of Trent, Session 4, declared anathema to all, "who should "not receive for holy and canonical, all and every "part of the Books of the Old and New Testa- "ment, as they had been accustomably read in the "Catholic Church, and as they stood in the old "vulgate edition:" And in the sixth session, declared "the Vulgate to be authentic, and that no "one should, on any pretence, dare or presume to "reject it."

Now, when the Council of Trent made this decree, The Verse had long been accustomably read in the catholic church, and long made a part in the old vulgate edition; those, therefore, in com-

munion with the see of Rome, who now reject The Verse, fall within the council's anathema.

To these objections the adversaries of The Verse reply:

1st, That, in the times of which we are now speaking, there was little of biblical criticism, and that no works of those times have reached us, in which such an objection either would be made, or would be noticed.

2dly, That, before too great a stress is laid on its insertion in the Vulgate, an accurate notion should be formed of the edition denoted, in these cases, by the appellation of the Latin Vulgate. It does not denote the edition, anterior to St. Jerome, which, from its superior celebrity, was called the Ancient Italic; it does not denote the edition published by St. Jerome; it merely denotes that edition, which, at the time of the council of Trent, was generally in use; and afterwards served as the ground work of the editions published, first by Sixtus Quintus, afterwards by Clement the eighth, and which last edition is the archetype of the modern Vulgate: that this edition partook more of the modern, than of ancient versions; and, that standing by itself, it is, in a matter of criticism, of no authority.

3dly, To suppose, that, the council of Trent pronounced the Vulgate to be wholly free from error, and that no one was at liberty to vary from it, in translation or exposition, is going to an extreme. In declaring it to be authentic, the council did not declare the Vulgate to be inspired or

infallible; the council only pronounced it to be inerrant, where the dogmata of faith or morals are concerned. In this decision, every roman-catholic must acquiesce, as he receives the scripture from the church, under her authority, and with her interpretation: but further than this, the council leaves the Vulgate in mere matters of criticism, to the private judgment of every individual. To this effect, father Salmeron, who was one of the ten first disciples of St. Ignatius, and who assisted at the council of Trent in the character of one of the pope's theologians, is cited by the abbé de Vence, to have expressed himself in the third of his prologomena.

In this stage of the argument, Bossuet takes very high ground, in one of his letters to Leibniz, published by Mr. Dutens, in his edition of Leibniz's works; as, in that letter, Bossuet seems to place the general acquiescence of the Roman-catholic church, in the authenticity of The Verse, among the traditions which the church receives, and the faithful are therefore bound to adopt.—As every thing, which has fallen from the pen of that great man, is important, and the passage in question is little known, it is here transcribed at length.

" J'avoue au reste, Monsieur, ce que vous dites " des anciens exemplaires Grecs sur le passage, " *Tres Sunt, &c.* mais vous sçavez aussi bien que " moi, que l'article contenu dans ce passage ne doit " pas être pour cela révoqué en doute, étant " d'ailleurs établi, non-seulement *par la Tradition* " *des Eglises*, mais encore par l'Ecriture très

" evidemment. Vous sçavez aussi sans doute, que " ce passage se trouve reçu dans tout l'Occident ; " ce qui parôit manifeste, sans même remonter " plus haut, par la production qu'en fait S. Ful- " gence dans ses Ecrits, et même dans une " excellente Confession de foi présentée unanimé- " ment au Roi Huneric par toute l'Eglise " d'Afrique. Ce temoignage produit par un aussi " grand Theologien, et par cette sçavante Eglise, " n'ayant point été reproché par les hérétiques, " & au contraire étant confirmé par le sang de tant " de martyrs, et encore par tant de miracles, dont " cette Confession de foi fut suivie, est une démon- " stration de la Tradition, du moins de toute " l'Eglise d'Afrique l'une des plus illustres du " monde. On trouve même dans S. Cyprien une " allusion manifeste a ce passage, qui à passé " naturellement dans notre Vulgate ; & confirme " la Tradition de tout l'Occident. Je suis, &c.

" J. Benigne, Evêque de Meaux."

Such is the state of the argument, so far as the authenticity of The Verse depends on the general prepossession, in its favour, before the impression of the Greek original.

It certainly imposes on the adversaries of The Verse, the obligation of attack. The following are their principal arguments against its authenticity, and the principal answers to them.

VI.

They say, that there is hardly a library in Europe, in which the *Manuscripts of the Greek*

Testament have not been examined, in order to determine, whether The Verse really proceeded from the pen of St. John: and that the result of this long and laborious examination is, that, of all the Greek manuscripts of the catholic epistles, now extant, of which more than a hundred have been quoted by name, independently of those which have been quoted in the aggregate, (as where Dr. Griesbach, professor Birch or professor Alter speak, at large, of all the manuscripts they have seen), the passage has been discovered in one manuscript only,—the Codex Montfortianus, which is neither of sufficient antiquity nor of sufficient integrity, to be intitled to a voice in a question of sacred criticism.

This, the advocates of The Verse generally admit;—but reply that, though no such manuscript be now extant, there existed formerly Greek manuscripts, which contained The Verse,—for which they cite those, which were in the possession of Valla, the Complutensian editors, and Robert Stephens.

VII.

With respect to THE MANUSCRIPTS OF VALLA;—the advocates of The Verse assert, that Valla had seven Greek manuscripts of the 1st Epistle of St. John, and that all his manuscripts exhibited The Verse. They observe, that it was his plan to mark, in his annotations, those passages, in which the Vulgate receded from the Greek: that he takes no notice, in his annotations, of the omission of

The Verse, in any of his manuscripts; from which they infer, that it was contained in them all.

The adversaries of The Verse reply,—that we are ignorant of the number of manuscripts which Valla used, and of his plan of annotation: that, though it be probable he had seven Greek manuscripts, which exhibited St. John's Gospel, ch. vii. v. 29, where he expressly mentions that number of manuscripts, it does not appear, and it is highly improbable, he should have the like number of Greek manuscripts of the 1st Epistle of St. John: that The Verse might have been wanting in the Latin text, with which he made his collation; that he might studiously have avoided a remark, which, in the country and the times in which he lived, might have exposed him to persecution: that it is highly probable that some or other of his manuscripts have been quoted under different titles: that no manuscript contains The Verse, and that, of course, there is the same probability of none of his manuscripts having contained it, as there is that we are now in possession of some or other of his manuscripts. From these circumstances, the adversaries of The Verse infer, that nothing near to a conclusion in its favour can be drawn from his silence respecting the passage in his manuscripts.

It is observable that Mr. archdeacon Travis objects heavily to Erasmus, that, when he was pressed by Lee, with the contents of Valla's manuscripts, he attempted to bear him down by other arguments, but did not deny that The Verse was to

be found in the manuscripts of Valla, which manuscripts the archdeacon asserts, were in Erasmus's possession. But the archdeacon appears to have been mistaken in this supposition: Erasmus was the editor of Valla's commentary; but it no where appears that he was in possession of Valla's manuscripts, and he himself asserts the contrary.—Such are the obligations of literature to Erasmus, that men of letters should eagerly rise in his defence, whenever they think he is unjustly accused.

VIII.

With respect to THE MANUSCRIPTS USED BY THE COMPLUTENSIAN EDITORS:—The Polyglott Bible, printed at Alcala or Complutum, under the patronage, and at the expense of cardinal Ximenes, was begun in 1502; the whole impression of it was finished in 1517, and published in 1522. It is certain that the cardinal spared no expense in procuring manuscripts; but, whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been much doubted. The Verse has its place in this edition; from which its advocates infer, that it was exhibited by all, or at least the greatest part of the manuscripts used by the Complutensian editors. This inference is denied by the adversaries of The Verse. They contend, that, from the deference, which the Complutensian editors had for the Vulgate, they were honestly persuaded, that The Verse was genuine, and therefore inserted, and thought themselves warranted in inserting in their text, a translation of it from the Latin. This, they say, appears clearly

from the dispute between Stunica and Erasmus:—the former, in the bitterest terms, reproached the latter with the omission of The Verse, in his printed edition: Erasmus, with equal vehemence, challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek manuscript in support of The Verse; Stunica did not cite a single manuscript, but persisted in urging the authority of the Latin.—This, Mr. archdeacon Travis owns himself unable to account for satisfactorily.

IX.

With respect to Robert Stephens's manuscripts;—To explain this part of the case, to persons unacquainted with Stephens's celebrated edition of the Greek Testament, which gives rise to the present question, and which was the edition published by him in 1550,—it is necessary to observe that the text of it is a re-impression of the fifth edition of Erasmus, with a few alterations. In the margin, Stephens quotes various readings from the Complutensian edition, and from fifteen Greek manuscripts, eight of which were borrowed from the King's library, six were procured from various quarters, and one was collated in Italy. The Complutensian text and the fifteen copies he denoted, when he cited various readings from them by the Greek numerals α', β', γ', as far as fifteen. The copy α', he quotes throughout the whole New Testament, because, like other printed editions, the Complutensian edition, which it denotes, contains the whole. Of his fifteen manuscripts, he

quotes some in one part, some in another; but none throughout the whole New Testament. In the catholic epistles, Stephens has quoted only seven manuscripts, which he denotes by the numerals δ′, έ, ζ′, θ, ί, ιά, ιγ′, of which the four marked δ′, ε, ζ, ί, were from the King's library, and the other three θ′, ιά, ίγ, were among the six, which he had procured elsewhere. At the 1 John v. 7, the disputed passage stands thus in Stephens's text, ἐν τῷ ουρανῷ, ὁ πάτηρ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν ἐεστι· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ.

In the margin, Stephens has quoted the seven manuscripts just mentioned, with an obêlus prefixed. Now, according to his plan of annotation, when any word or number of words is omitted in the quoted manuscript, he expresses it by placing in his text, an obêlus before the first word, and a little crotchet in the shape of a semicircle, and of the size of a comma, after the last word. At the place in question, the obêlus is set before ἐν, which precedes τῷ ουρανῷ and the semicircle immediately after ὀυρανῷ: so that by this notation the words ἐν τῷ ουρανῷ, and not the whole passage, are represented as absent from these seven manuscripts. But, as compositors are not infallible, and marks of reference are frequently placed wrong, through various accidents in printing, this edition of Robert Stephens had not been published many years, when Lucas Brugensis suspected, that Stephens's compositor had here made a mistake, and that he ought to have set the crotchet, not after ουρανῷ, but after γῇ,

that is, after the last word of the controverted passage, and not after the third: for, even in the sixteenth century it was well known, that the Greek manuscripts, in general, omitted the whole passage; but no one, either before or since the time of Robert Stephens, has ever seen a Greek manuscript which omitted the three first words only. This, however, was not admitted by the advocates of The Verse, who still quoted these seven manuscripts, as authority, not indeed for the whole passage, but, what is of some importance in a case of necessity, for at least three quarters of it. About a hundred years after the time of Lucas Brugensis, Simon examined all the Greek manuscripts in the library of the king of France, and found that not only ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, but that all the following words, as far as ἐν τῇ γῇ were absent from them all: and, as four out of the seven, which Stephens has quoted at 1 John v. 7, had been borrowed from this library, though Simon did not attempt to determine what particular four, he concluded, that Stephens's representation at that passage was inaccurate. To evade this argument, the patrons of Stephens's semicircle had recourse to the hypothesis, that the eight manuscripts, which, in the time of Robert Stephens, belonged to the king's library, were no longer there, and even that they were no longer in existence: a position, which, though wholly incapable of defence, is indispensibly necessary for those, who maintain, that the semicircle is set right, because the manuscripts which till exist, both in Paris and in other places, decide

against them. From this untenable post, they were driven, a few years afterwards, by Le Long, who, in 1720, undertook to determine the particular eight manuscripts, in the royal library, which had been used by Robert Stephens, and consequently four out of the seven, which are quoted at 1 John v. 7. The eight manuscripts he imperfectly described in the *Journal des Sçavans* for June 1720: but he gave a more complete and accurate account of them in the edition of his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, which was published in 1723, soon after the death of the author.

From this time, the accuracy of Stephens's semicircle appeared to be given up, and his manuscripts, as evidence for the authenticity of The Verse, appeared to be wholly abandoned. But, in 1791, Mr. Archdeacon Travis took a journey to Paris, in order to compare Stephens's quotations from the eight manuscripts, which he had borrowed from the royal library, with the readings of those on which Le Long had fixed, as the eight, which were used by Stephens. In this comparison, he found, according to his own account, that the quotations made by R. Stephens differed, so frequently, from the readings in Le Long's manuscripts, as to warrant the inference, that these were not the eight, which Stephens used. The grounds of his opinion, he mentions at length, in the sixth edition of his letters to Mr. Gibbon:—they have been attacked by Mr. Marsh.—Previously to the publication of Mr. Travis's last edition of his letters to Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Marsh in one of his notes to Michaelis,

(Vol. II. p. 789), had informed the world, that he had found a Greek manuscript, marked K x. 6. 4, in the public library of the university of Cambridge, which, he had discovered to be the manuscript which Stephens had quoted by the mark, ιγ, and consequently, one of the seven manuscripts which are quoted in Stephens's edition of 1550, at 1 John v. 7; and, at the same time, assigned the reasons, which induced him to believe, that the manuscript in question had been at Paris, and that it was no other than the manuscript which Stephens called ιγ. Now, this manuscript omits not only ἐν τῷ ουρανῷ, but all the following words, including ἐν τῇ γῇ;— and, since Stephens quotes all his seven manuscripts of the catholic epistles for the same omission, it follows, that, as one of them omitted the whole passage, the others did the same. Of the truth of this inference, Mr. Travis was well aware; and, in his last edition of his letters to Mr. Gibbon, attacked Mr. Marsh's arguments in support of the identity of the manuscript K x. 6. 4; and Stephens's ιγ'.

To this Mr. Herbert March answered, by "*his* "*letters to Mr. archdeacon Travis, published* "*in* 1795."

In this publication, Mr. Marsh states the several steps, which led to the discovery of the identity of the two manuscripts. He establishes it by various proofs; and, by an application of an algebraical theorem to the documents produced by him, he shews, that the probability in favour of the identity of the manuscripts, is, to the probability of the

contrary, as two nonillions to a unity. This is one of the most curious instances which have appeared, of the application of mathematical calculation to a critical enquiry.—One of the points, principally discussed by Mr. Marsh, is, how far the inference, deduced from a general and remarkable similarity, in favour of the identity of manuscripts, is counteracted by a certain number of discordances; a consideration of the utmost importance, in all collations of manuscripts: but Mr. Marsh's treatise abounds with other curious and important remarks, and is a mine of recondite and useful biblical erudition.

The nature of this enquiry does not admit of more, than this general outline of that part of the controversy, which arises from the subject of Robert Stephens's manuscripts. Persons, to whom the subject is new, would be surprised, in their investigation of it, to find that it embraces so wide a field of enquiry. Perhaps, nothing has contributed so much to the accurate knowledge, which seems now to be obtained of the Greek text of the New Testament, as the discussions to which The Verse has given rise.

X.

THE adversaries of The Verse continue the attack:—They observe that there are many Greek manuscripts of THE APOSTOLOS, or the collection of lessons, read in the Greek churches, from the epistles, and which they call the Apostolos, to distinguish it from the Lectionarium, which contain

the lessons from the gospels. Now, they observe, that no one has been able to discover The Verse in a single manuscript apostolos.

The advocates of The Verse observe, that it is to be found in the first printed edition of the apostolos, which appeared at Venice in 1602; but the adversaries of The Verse contend, that this does not afford the slightest argument in favour of the authenticity of The Verse, as, in all probability, the lessons were printed from the modern Greek text, into which it had long found its way.

XI.

The adversaries of The Verse further contend,— THAT IT IS WHOLLY UNKNOWN TO ANY OF THE ORIENTAL VERSIONS WHICH WERE MADE FROM THE TEXT, while it was in its original purity. It is totally unknown to the manuscripts of the old Syriac version: it is wanting in the new Syriac or Phyloxenian version, which was made in the beginning of the sixth century, and collated with Greek manuscripts, at Alexandria, in the beginning of the seventh: it is wanting also in the Arabic manuscripts, as well of the version printed in the Polyglott, as in that published by Erpenius: it is wanting in the Ethiopic, the Cophtic, the Sahidic and the Armenian versions.

To this, the advocates of The Verse reply, that all those versions, except the Armenian, were made from the Syriac, which, they say, is faulty beyond description. That, we know little of the Armenian version; but that The Verse is contained in

the first printed edition of that version, published at Amsterdam, in 1666; from which they infer, that The Verse was contained in the manuscript or manuscripts, from which that edition was printed. We certainly know little of the Armenian version; but no one has actually pretended to have seen The Verse in any Armenian manuscript; and professor Alter, in the second volume of his edition of the Iliad, page 85, mentions his having been informed by "Pater Zohrab Armenus, Bibliothecarius Meg- "hitarensium in insula S. Lazari Venetiis," that having examined many Armenian manuscripts, in the library of his convent, he had not found The Verse in any one of them.

XII.

THE adversaries of The Verse contend that—IT IS WANTING IN FORTY OF THE MOST ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATIN VERSION. This, they say, equipoises, if it do not overbalance the authority of those Latin manuscripts in which it is contained.

In 1743, Sabatier published, at Rheims, his "Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ, "seu vetus Italica, et ceteræ quæcunque in codi- "cibus Manuscriptis reperiri potuerunt, quæ cum "vulgatâ Latinâ et cum textu Greco comparantur." The object of the work, is to restore the text of the ancient Italic, by putting together the quotations of the Bible, in the works of the ancient fathers; where none can be found, Sabatier supplies the chasm from the Vulgate. He was so fortunate as

to find, in different parts of the works of St. Augustin, a sufficient number of quotations, to form the whole of the four first chapters, and likewise the beginning of the fifth. But, when he comes to the seventh verse, this very voluminous father, who wrote not less than ten treatises on the epistle in question, suddenly deserts him, though immediately after this critical place, he comes again to his assistance. This chasm, therefore, Sabatier fills up, by a quotation from Vigilius Tapsensis, who wrote at the end of the fifth century.

XIII.

THE adversaries of The Verse urge,—that THE GREEK FATHERS HAVE NEVER QUOTED IT, in their warmest disputes about the Trinity, which they certainly would have done, if the passage had been known to them; and this, they observe, is the more remarkable, as they often quote and dwell upon the sixth and eighth verses in succession, without once mentioning or even slightly alluding to the seventh verse. This is one of the strongest parts of the cause of the adversaries of The Verse. Its advocates have little to reply to it, except that it proves no more, than that The Verse did not exist in the copies, which those fathers used; that many works written by those fathers, and many other works, written at the same time, have not come down to us; and that The Verse might have been mentioned in all or some or one of these.

XIV.

THE adversaries of The Verse urge the same argument from THE SILENCE OF THE LATIN FATHERS TILL THE FOURTH CENTURY:—Here, they are met by the advocates of The Verse, who contend, that, though The Verse is not quoted, it is expressly referred to by several of the earliest Latin fathers; particularly Tertullian and St. Cyprian.—The adversaries of The Verse reply, that none of these passages refer to the seventh verse, but refer to the eighth verse, by mystically interpreting the Spirit, the blood and the water, mentioned in that verse, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They dwell much on a passage of St. Augustin, in which he expressly says, that "the Spirit, the blood and the water, may be "understood, *without any absurdity*, of the "Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost," an expression, which, most assuredly, St. Augustin would never have used, if he had been aware of the seventh verse.

It is certain that The Verse is mentioned in St. Jerome's Preface to the Canonical Epistles; but the authenticity of these prefaces, first suspected by Erasmus, is given up by Dom Martianay, the Benedictine monk, and almost all modern writers.

XV.

The adversaries of The Verse thus account for THE INTERPOLATION OF IT INTO THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.—The mystical interpretation

of the 8th verse, which some of the fathers adopted, was, as they allege, frequently inserted in their commentaries, and sometimes in the margin of their copies: by degrees it slid from the margin into the text; insensibly it came to be considered as part of it: at first, it appeared sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and was inserted sometimes before, and sometimes after the eighth verse: at length the dignity of the subject gave it a precedence over the eighth verse: and thus it came to be considered as the seventh verse of the chapter. Probably it had gained a place in no manuscript, as part of the text, till some time after the death of St. Augustin: and the eighth century may be considered as the æra of its final settlement in the Latin text.

From the Latin text it was transplanted into the Greek. At the general council of Lateran, held in 1215, The Verse was quoted from the Greek. The acts of the council, with the quotation of the Vulgate, were translated into the Greek, and sent to the Greek churches. About a century after this period, the Greeks began to quote The Verse; *the first Greek writers who have quoted it, are Manuel Callecas, who lived in the fourteenth, and Bryennius, who lived in the fifteenth century*; and it is observable, that, when the passage first appeared in Greek, it presented itself under as many different shapes, as when it first made its appearance in Latin.

XVI.

This, perhaps, may be considered an outline of the history of the controversy respecting this celebrated Verse. It has the merit of having rendered invaluable services to the biblical criticism of the sacred text. It has led to a minute discussion of several curious and interesting topics of literary history, particularly the rules for judging of the age of manuscripts, the nature of manuscript collations, the different merits of the principal editions of the Old and New Testament, the early versions of them, and the characters of the different persons, by whom they were edited or published. A full and complete history of the controversy, which should enter, at large, into all its particulars, would be an invaluable acquisition to literature.

Considering Mr. archdeacon Travis was a mere novice in biblical criticism, when he first engaged in the controversy, he performed wonders: but it was his misfortune to combat with giants.

The principal argument in its favour, which appears not to be satisfactorily answered, is its having a place in the confession of faith, presented by the African bishops to Huneric. Mr. Porson has treated this argument with abundance of wit: but it seems to deserve a more serious treatment. It is not necessary to suppose, as Mr. Porson humourously says, that, each of the four hundred bishops had a Bible in his pocket, and the useful place doubled down.—If there were such a number of copies exhibiting The Verse, as induced the bishops

to adopt it into the confession of faith, this fact would afford strong ground to contend, that it was inserted in the copies then generally in use.

This circumstance, therefore, may be thought to deserve further investigation;—and a more complete examination of the manuscripts in the royal library at Paris, is much to be desired: in other respects, the topics of argument respecting the authenticity of this celebrated Verse, appear to have been exhausted.

To the Reverend Herbert Marsh.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN I had last the pleasure of your company, I mentioned to you, that I thought the argument in favour of The Verse of *The Three Heavenly Witnesses*, or 1 John, chap. v. ver. 7, from the CONFESSION OF FAITH PRESENTED BY THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS TO HUNERIC in 484, had not been sufficiently attended to:—I now beg leave to trouble you with my thoughts upon it.—I shall first copy Mr. archdeacon Travis's account of it, from his Letters to Mr. Gibbon, 3d edit. p. 57.

I.

"IN A. D. 484, an assembly of African bishops "was convened at Carthage by king Huneric the "Vandal and the Arian. The style of the edict,

" issued by Huneric on this occasion, seems worthy " of notice. He therein requires the orthodox " bishops of his dominions to attend the council " thus convened, there to defend *by the Scriptures* " the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, " against certain Arian opponents. At the time " appointed, nearly four hundred bishops attended " this council, from the various provinces of Africa, " and from the isles of the Mediterranean sea; at " the head of whom stood the venerable Eugenius, " bishop of Carthage. The public professions " of Huneric promised a fair and candid discus- " sion of the divinity of Jesus Christ; but it soon " appeared that his private intentions were to com- " pel, by force, the vindicators of that belief to " submit to the tenets of Arianism. For when " Eugenius, with his Anti-Arian prelates, entered " the room of consultation, they found Cyrila, their " chief antagonist, seated on a kind of throne, at- " tended by his Arian coadjutors, and surrounded " by armed men; who quickly, instead of waiting " to hear the reasonings of their opponents, offered " violence to their persons. Convinced by this " application of force that no deference would be " paid to argument, Eugenius and his prelates " withdrew from the council-room; but not with- " out leaving behind them a protest, in which, " (among other passages of scripture), this Verse " of St. John is thus especially insisted upon, in vin- " dication of the belief to which they adhered.— " *That it may appear more clear than the light*

" *that the divinity of the Father, the Son, and the*
" *Holy Spirit is one, see it proved by the Evan-*
" *gelist St. John, who writes thus: there are three*
" *which bear record in heaven, the Father, the*
" *Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these Three*
" *are one.*"

" This remarkable fact appears to be, alone,
" amply decisive as to the originality of the Verse
" in question. The manner in which it happened
" seems to carry irresistible conviction with it. It
" was not a thing done in a corner, a transaction
" of solitude or obscurity. It passed in the metro-
" polis of the kingdom, in the court of the reigning
" prince, in the face of opponents, exasperated by
" controversy and proud of royal support, and in
" the presence of the whole congregated African
" church. Nor is the *time*, when this transaction
" happened, less powerfully convincing than its
" manner. Not much more than three centuries
" had elapsed from the death of St. John, when
" this solemn appeal was thus made to the authority
" of This Verse. Had The Verse been forged by
" Eugenius and his bishops, all christian Africa
" would have exclaimed at once against them.
" Had it even been considered as of *doubtful*
" *original*, their adversaries the *Arians*, thus pub-
" licly attacked by this protest, would have loudly
" challenged the authenticity of The Verse, and
" would have refused to be in any respect con-
" cluded by its evidence. But nothing of this
" kind intervened. *Cyrila* and his associates

" received its testimony in sullen silence; and by " that silence admitted it to have proceeded from " the pen of St. *John*."

II.

SUCH is Mr. archdeacon Travis's account of this memorable event; and such are the arguments he deduces from it, in support of the authenticity of The Verse.

The opposers of The Verse remark, 1st, That the unanimous testimony of the four hundred bishops, by no means proves that The Verse was in all their copies; and 2dly, That, as no dispute took place, but the conference was broken up immediately, the sullen silence of the Arians, is merely an invention of Mr. Travis.

Admitting the utmost weight of these observations, much of the argument deducible from the narrative in favour of the authenticity of The Verse, remains for the adversaries of The Verse to answer.

1st. The catholic bishops were summoned to a conference; so that they expected, and it certainly was highly probable,—that their tenets, and the proofs they should adduce of them, would be strongly attacked:

2d. This circumstance must have made them very cautious of what they inserted in their proposed confession:

3d. Particularly, as all power was in the hands of their angry and watchful adversaries:

4th. Of course, though they might, and from the nature of the case, must have inserted in the confession, some things, at which they knew the Arians would cavil, they would not have inserted in it any thing, which, by merely asking a plain question, the Arian could prove to be a palpable falsehood:

5th. Now,—if the Arians could, with truth, have said, to the catholic bishops, what the present opposers of The Verse say,—The Verse is in no Greek copy,—it is in no ancient Latin copy,—it is in no ancient father,—it is in few only of your own copies:—Can you even assert the contrary? What could the catholic bishops have replied?—If we are to believe the adversaries of The Verse, the bishops could hold out no Greek copy,—no ancient Latin copy,—no ancient father,—where The Verse was to be found:

6th. On this supposition, therefore,—instantly and on the very spot,—the Arians could have shewn the spuriousness of The Verse, and have convicted the bishops of a palpable falsehood:

7th. And this, at a time and in a situation, when the eyes of all the christian world were upon them:

8th. Now,—is it probable the catholic bishops would have exposed themselves to such immediate and indelible infamy?

9th. Particularly, as it was volunteering it:—for their producing The Verse was a mere voluntary act:—their cause did not depend on it; long treatises had been written by the ancient defenders of

the Trinity, in which The Verse had not been mentioned:

10th. Consequently,—when the catholic bishops produced The Verse, they could have no fear that any such proof positive of its spuriousness could be dashed upon them:

11th. Therefore,—they knew, either that The Verse could not be attacked,—or that, if attacked, they could produce Greek copies, ancient Latin copies, and ancient fathers in its defence.

12th. It is observable that the greatest part of the catholic prelates who assisted at this conference, suffered, for their steady adherence to their faith, the severest persecution.—In the language of Mr. Gibbon (ch. 38.), "Three hundred and two "of them were banished to different parts of "Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, "and carefully deprived of all the temporal and "spiritual comforts of life.—Gundamund, the "nephew and immediate successor of Huneric, "appeared to emulate and even to surpass the "cruelty of his uncle. At length he relented and "recalled the bishops. Thrasimund, his brother "and immediate successor, prohibited by a law, "any episcopal ordination; and their disobedience "was punished by a second exile of two hundred "and twenty bishops into Sardinia, where they lan-"guished fifteen years." Surely it is improbable, that men who could undergo such persecutions and sufferings for their belief of the consubstantiality of the Son, would introduce a spurious verse into His word.

This appears to me the chain of argument deducible in favour of the authenticity of The Verse, from this confession of the African bishops.

With great respect, Dear Sir,
I am, your most obliged
humble servant,

7th Jan. 1806. CHARLES BUTLER.

To the Right Rev. Herbert Lord Bishop of Landaff.

MY LORD,

IN the second of the two letters, which I had the honour to address your lordship, some years ago, containing, *A succinct historical account of the Controversy respecting the Three Heavenly Witnesses, or the authenticity of* 1 *John, Ep.* v. 7, I have stated at some length, the argument in its favour, from the literal and complete insertion of it in the confession of faith, presented by the African prelates, to king Huneric. That confession of faith fills the whole of the third book of the *Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ*, of Victor Vitensis. The best edition of it is that of Dom Ruinart, published in 1694. In the preface, Dom Ruinart cites four manuscripts of it, one in the Benedictine monastery of St. Martin des Champs, the three others in the Colbertine library at Paris.

The three last manuscripts I have lately caused to be examined, and shall copy The Verse, as it

stands in each of them; first inserting a copy of The Verse as it stands in the Vulgate.

In the Vulgate, it is expressed in the following words: "*Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cœlo:* "*Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus: et hi tres* "*unum sunt.*"

I. In the Codex Regius, No. 5315, membranaceus, olim Colbertinus, sec. xv. fol. xvi. recto: "*Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cœlo, Pater,* "*Filius, et Spiritus sanctus: et hii tres unum* "*sunt.*"

II. In the Codex Regius, No. 2015, membranaceus, olim Colbertinus, sec. x. (at non numerato verso): "*Tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in* "*cœlo, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus: et ii* "*tres unum sunt.*"

In the margin the following words are written: "*Nota. In Epistolâ beati Joannis ita legendum.*"

III. In the Codex Regius 2796, membranaceus, item olim Colbertinus, sec. xiii. it is expressed in the following words: "*Tres sunt, qui testimonium* "*perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus* "*sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt.*" This is the reading adopted by Ruinart.

My Lord,
with the greatest respect,
I have the honour to be
Your Lordship's
most obliged humble servant,
CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn,
4th Nov. 1816.

NOTES

TO THE SECOND PART

OF THE

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

NOTE I. p. 287.

THE characters of the Zend, Pazend and Pahlavi languages, may be found in the work of M. Anquetil du Perron, in the second edition of Dr. Hyde's *Religio Veterum Persarum*, and in the *Commentatio de fatis linguarum Orientalium*, by Jenisch; but, by inspecting the medals preserved in the national museum at Paris, and deciphered by M. de Sacy, (*Mémoire sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, Paris*, 1793), or those deposited in the museum of the late Dr. Hunter, and deciphered by Sir Wm. Ouseley, (*Observations on some Medals and Gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persick Character, quarto, London*, 1801), it appears, that the characters given by Hyde and du Perron differ from those of the Sassanian ages of the Persian monarchy. The alphabet of these medals, and of the most ancient

inscriptions hitherto explained, have been found to contain but eighteen letters, each of which, whether it be used in an initial, medial, or final position, retains the same form; while the Zend alphabet, as given by M. Anquetil du Perron, from his manuscripts, has been found to comprise not fewer than forty-eight characters, the Pazend twenty-nine, and the Pahlavi twenty-six: many even of these assume different forms, according to their situations, at the beginning, middle or end of a word; others, according to their positions, receive a short or long, a hard or soft accentuation. These new distinctions seem to be innovations of the original simple alphabet, and are supposed to be engrafted on it within the last five or six centuries. The most ancient Persic inscription, hitherto deciphered, does not ascend higher than the second century of our æra; that is the date of a medal which Sir William Ouseley ascribes to Vologeses, the 3d of the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty: and no intermediate character between the Pahlavi, and the arrow-headed letters, found in the ruins of Persepolis, or the neighbourhood of them, has yet been discovered.

Thus it remains a question whether the works of Zoroaster, were originally written in the alphabet of the medals, or in that of the Persepolitan inscriptions; but the manuscripts, from which M. Anquetil du Perron translated his Zend-Avesta, are written in a character totally different from that of the Persepolitan inscriptions; and they are thought to be founded upon, and in many instances

to be the same with, that of the Sassanian medals, or pure Pahlavi.—For these remarks, and a valuable communication on the general subject of this article, the writer is indebted to Sir William Ouseley.

NOTE II. p. 305.

" I MAY take it upon me to pronounce, that the " service has at no period more abounded with " men of cultivated talents, of capacity for busi- " ness, and liberal knowledge. Such studies, " independently of their utility, tend, especially " when the pursuit of them is general, to diffuse a " generosity of sentiment, and a disdain of the " meaner occupations as are left nearer to the " state of uncultivated nature; and you, Sir, will " believe me, when I assure you, that it is on the " virtue, not the ability of their servants, that the " company must rely for the permanency of their " dominion." From Mr. Hastings's letter to Mr. Smith, prefixed to Mr. Wilkins's translation of the Bhaghat Geeta.

NOTE III. p. 306.

SIR William Jones's orthography is here adopted. Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Halhed write the word " Veds;" Col. Dow, " Bedas;" Col. Polier, " Baids;" M. Anquetil du Perron, calls the four Vedas the Rak Beid, Djidir Beid, Sam Beid, and Athrban Beid.

NOTE IV. p. 306.

WITH the leave of the trustees of the British Museum, the reader is presented with a copy of the letter, with which Colonel Polier accompanied his present.

" To Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. President of the Royal
" Society, &c.

" SIR,

" SINCE the English by their conquests and
" situation have become better acquainted with
" India, and its aborigines—the Hindous—the
" men of science throughout Europe have been
" very anxious of learning something certain of
" those sacred books which are the basis of the
" Hindou religion, and are known in India and
" elsewhere, under the name of the *Baids*: many
" endeavours we know have been exerted to pro-
" cure them, not only on the coast of Coromandel,
" but also in several parts of Bengal, and even at
" Bennares; but hitherto, those books could not
" be had in any of those places, complete and ori-
" ginal, and nothing could be obtained but various
" *Shasters*, which are only commentaries of the
" *Baids* to expound and explain such difficult
" passages as occur in them:—during a long resi-
" dence in the upper provinces of Hindostan, I
" made it also my business, particularly to inquire
" for those books, and the more so, as I found
" that doubts had arisen in Europe of their very

" existence :—my researches at Awd, Lucknow,
" Agra and Delhy were perfectly useless, and
" I could not in any of those places obtain what I
" wanted. Thus disappointed I thought of sending
" to Jaypour for them, and was led to it from
" a knowledge, that during the persecution the
" Hindous suffered throughout India, and which
" began in the twelfth year of the reign of Au-
" rengzeb—(the persecution was at its height in
" the year of the Hegira 1090, or of ours 1679,
" on account of the rebellion of Odaipour.)—The
" Rajah of *Anbair*—Ram Sing, from the im-
" portant services rendered by his father the Great
" Jaysing, and his own attachment to the emperor
" —escaped, if not entirely, at least a great part
" of that persecution, which levelled to the ground
" all the Hindou places of worship in the provinces,
" and caused the destruction of all the religious
" books which could be found belonging to the
" Hindous.--In consequence I wrote to a cor-
" respondent at Jaypour, and soon learnt from
" him, that the Baids were to be procured there,
" but that no copy could be obtained from the
" Brehmans without an order or permission from
" Pertab Sing, who was then the Rajah of that
" place, and is the same prince who has so lately
" been engaged in war with Saindheah and who is
" a grandson of that famous Rajah Tay Sing
" (Mirzah Rajah) who built Jaypour, close to An-
" bair, and was the founder also of the famous
" observatories at Jaypour and Delhy, &c. and the
" editor of some curious astronomical tables which

" he gave to the world under the name of *Mo-*
" *hammed Shah*, then on the throne of Delhy.
" Having a small knowledge of the Rajah, whom
" I had seen a few years before, when he paid his
" court to *Shah Alum*, then encamped in the
" neighbourhood of *Jaypour*, I hesitated not in
" applying to him by letter for his permission to
" have the copy I so much wanted, and my friend
" Don Pedro de Silva a worthy Portuguese physi-
" cian in the service of the Rajah, undertook to
" deliver it, and to forward the application with his
" solicitations if necessary.

" *Pertab Sing* on reading the letter, smiling,
" asked Don Pedro, what use we Europeans could
" make of their holy books :—on which he repre-
" sented that it was usual with us to collect and
" consult all kinds of valuable books, of which we
" formed in Europe public libraries ; and that the
" *Baids*, though much sought after, could not be
" met with any where else, and that without his
" permission the *Brehmans* refused to give a copy ;
" on this, the Rajah immediately issued an order,
" such as we wanted—and in the course of a year
" paying the Brehmen transcribers at a certain rate
" per every hundred *Ashlok* or stanza, I obtained
" the books which form the subject of this address,
" and which I had so long wished to possess.

" On my receiving those books at Lucknow, I
" still found many among the Europeans, who yet
" doubted their real authenticity, so strong were
" the prejudices entertained—from the little suc-
" cess we had hitherto had in procuring them, and

" from the doubts cast on their very existence by " some modern travellers: but the books having " been shewn to the late rajah *Anundram*, a " learned *Brehman*, then at Lucknow, and a per- " son well known to many now in England, he " immediately recognized them for true and au- " thentic, and begged of me to leave them some " time with him. At my request he afterwards " separated them in manageable volumes, as they " now are, and this I thought necessary, the better " to preserve them, for originally they were in loose " sheets; the Hindous in general seldom or never " binding their sacred books, particularly the *Baids*. " But I was obliged to promise him, which I rea- " dily did, they should not be bound in any kind " of leather, but either in silk or velvet: Rajah " *Anundram* further numbered the pages, and " with his own hand, wrote in Persian characters, " for my information, not only the title page of " each volume, but also of each section and the " number of leaves they severally contain.

" By this it may be seen how little a dependence " is to be placed in the assertions of those who have " represented the *Brehmans* as very averse to the " communication of the principles of their religion, " their mysteries, and holy books: in truth I have " always found those who were really men of science " and knowledge, very ready to impart and com- " municate what they knew to whoever would " receive it and listen to them, with a view of " information, and not merely for the purpose of " turning into ridicule whatever was not perfectly

" consonant to our European ideas, tenets and " even prejudices, some of which I much fear are " thought by the Indians to be full as deserving of " ridicule as any thing they have. At the same " time it must be owned that all the Hindous, the " *Brehmans* only excepted, are forbidden by their " religion from studying and learning the *Baids*, " the *K'hatrys* alone being permitted to hear them " read and expounded: This being the case it will " naturally be asked—how came an European who " is not even of the same faith, to be favoured with " what is denied even to a Hindou? To this the " *Brehmans* readily reply—that being now in the " *Cal Jog*, or fourth age, in which religion is re- " duced to nought, it matters not who sees or " studies them in these days of wickedness, since " by the decrees of the Supreme Being it must be " so. At the same time, notwithstanding, I have " not observed that the *Baids* are a bit the more " explained to the two lower classes among the " Hindous, the *Bais*, and the *Sonder*.

" To return from this digression.—Possessed " now of these sacred manuscripts, which I pro- " cured for the sole purpose of communicating to " those who would benefit from their perusal, I " soon after sent them to Sir William Jones, the " only European, then in India I believe, who " could read and expound any part of them. From " that learned gentleman, whose knowledge and " merits are far above my praise, we may expect to " learn in the future memoirs of the Asiatic So- " ciety what are his opinions relative to them, the

" surmises in India, and even among the *Brehmans*
" about the authenticity, or at least the merits of
" one of the four *Baids* called the *Atterban*, and
" in all likelihood some extracts and translations
" from each; and on that account, I shall beg
" leave to refer you for any further information, on
" these books, to one who is so competent to give
" the public the fullest and the truest.

" The *Baids* are now in London, and accom-
" pany this address; the purport of which is, to
" request of you, Sir, as one of the trustees of the
" British Museum, to receive and lodge them in
" that noble and valuable repository, as a small
" token and tribute of respect and admiration,
" from one who though not born a natural subject,
" yet having spent the best part of his life in the
" service of this country, is really unacquainted
" with any other. Allow me at the same time,
" Sir, to take the opportunity thus offered me of
" expressing the sentiments of respect I entertain
" for you, and which are so justly, and on so many
" accounts your due.

" I have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your most obedient and very

" humble servant,

" London, " ANTY. POLIER."
" 20th May, 1789."

" P.S. I have further to request, that in de-
" positing the *Baids* in the British Museum, it

" may be specified particularly, that either Sir " William Jones now in India, or Mr. Wilkins " now in London, shall at any time be allowed to " have one of the volumes of the Baids (at a time) " to take home with them, on their declaration it " is for the purpose of making extracts or trans- " lations out of them, and giving security for its " being returned; and I am led to do this, with " the more pleasure and readiness, in consideration " of what is due from the public to those gentle- " men for the great trouble they have been at, in " learning so difficult a language as the Sanscrit, " and opening by that mean, to the European " world, a new source of knowledge.

" As above,

" ANTY. POLIER."

NOTE V. p. 307.

" AMONG the Puranas," says Mr. Hastings in the letter already quoted, " and of superior esti- " mation to the rest, is ranked *the Mahabharat*.— " It contains the genealogy and general history " of the house of Bhaurat, so called from Bhurrut " its founder: the epithet Maha, or Great, being " prefixed in token of distinction: but its more " particular object is to relate the dissensions and " wars of the two great collateral branches of it, " called Kooroos and Pandoos; both lineally de- " scended, in the second degree, from Veecheetra- " veerya, their common ancestor, by their respective " fathers Dreetrarashtra and Pandoo.

" The Kooroos, which indeed is sometimes used " as a term comprehending the whole family, but " most frequently applied as the patronymic of the " elder branch alone, are said to have been one " hundred in number, of whom Dooryodun was es- " teemed the head and representative, even during " the life of his father, who was incapacitated by " blindness. The sons of Pandoo were five; Yood- " hishteer, Bheem, Arjoon, Nekool, and Sehadeo; " who, through the artifices of Dooryodun, were " banished, by their uncle and guardian Dreetra- " rashtra, from Hastenapoor, at that time the seat " of government of Hindostan.

" The exiles, after a series of adventures, worked " up with a wonderful fertility of genius and pomp " of language into a thousand sublime descriptions, " returned with a powerful army to avenge their " wrongs, and assert their pretensions to the em- " pire in right of their father: by whom, though " the younger brother, it had been held, while he " lived, on account of the disqualification already " mentioned of Dreetrarashtra."

A translation of a valuable extract from the Mahabharat was published, in the year 1785, by Mr. Wilkins, under the title of " The Bhagvat- " geeta, or Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon, in " eighteen lectures, with notes; translated from " the original in the Sanscrit, or ancient language " of the Brahmans." An advertisement informs us, that it was published under the authority of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Mr. Hastings's letter to Mr. Smith then follows:

after it, comes a concise but very instructive preface by the translator, and then the translation with notes. It is executed in that admirable style of severe simplicity, which consummate taste alone can reach.

From the general ignorance of the Sanscrit language, few are capable of pronouncing on its fidelity; but we have a strong testimony in its favour, in Mr. Halhed's preface to his translation of the Oupnekat, now deposited in the British Museum.

Mr. Hastings's letter does him the greatest honour; it is a noble display of enlarged and virtuous views for the government of a great country: the following extract from it is evidence of his classical taste and judgment.

"Might I, an unlettered man, venture to pre-
"scribe bounds to the latitude of criticism, I
"should exclude, in estimating the merit of such
"production, all rules drawn from the ancient or
"modern literature of Europe, all references to
"such sentiments or manners as are become the
"standards of propriety for opinion and action in
"our own modes of life, and equally all appeals to
"our revealed tenets of religion, and moral duty.
"I should exclude them, as by no means applicable
"to the language, sentiments, manners, or mo-
"rality, appertaining to a system of society with
"which we have been for ages unconnected, and
"of antiquity preceding even the first efforts of
"civilization in our own quarter of the globe,
"which, in respect to the general diffusion and

" common participation of arts and sciences, may " be considered as one community.

" I would exact from every reader the allowance " of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a " perverted morality. Where the reverse appears, " I would have him receive it (to use a familiar " phrase) as so much clear gain, and allow it a merit " proportioned to the disappointment of a different " expectation.

" In effect, without bespeaking this kind of " indulgence, I could hardly venture to persist in " my recommendation of this production for public " notice.

" Many passages will be found obscure, many " will seem redundant; others will be found " clothed with ornaments of fancy unsuited to our " taste, and some elevated to a track of sublimity " into which our habits of judgment will find it " difficult to pursue them; but few which will " shock either our religious faith or moral senti- " ments. Something too must be allowed to the " subject itself, which is highly metaphysical, to " the extreme difficulty of rendering abstract terms " by others exactly corresponding with them in " another language, to the arbitrary combination of " ideas, in words expressing unsubstantial qualities, " and more, to the errors of interpretation."

NOTE VI. p. 308.

HAVING mentioned this letter to Mr. Wilkins, that able judge of Sanscrit literature pronounced it *omni exceptione major:* it will not suffer in a

comparison with Sir William Jones's Discourses on Hindu Literature. *La Porte Ouverte of Abraham Roger*, is one of the most curious works which has yet appeared on the mythology of the Hindus, and deserves to be more generally known. Mr. Maurice's valuable publications intitle him to the thanks of all oriental scholars: by publishing his translation of the Mahabharat, Mr. Wilkins will confer on them a very great literary favour.—The writer begs leave to mention, in this place, his obligations to Mr. Planta, the principal librarian of the British Museum, for innumerable services rendered him in the course of this publication. To a gentleman more ready to oblige, the care of that literary treasure could not have been consigned: *sic siti lætantur lares.*

NOTE VII. p. 309.

" I HAVE seen an extract from a foreign work " of great literary credit, in which my name is " mentioned, with very undeserved applause, for " an attempt to introduce the knowledge of Hindoo " literature into the European world, by forcing " or corrupting the religious consciences of the " Pundits, or professors of their sacred doctrines. " This reflection was produced by Mr. Halhed's " translation of the Poottee, or code of laws, and " is totally devoid of foundation. For myself I " can declare truly, that if the acquisition could " not have been obtained but by such means as " have been supposed, I should never have sought " it. It was contributed both cheerfully and

" gratuitously by men of the most respectable cha-
" racters for sanctity and learning in Bengal, who
" refused to accept more than the moderate daily
" subsistence of one rupee each, during the term
" that they were employed on the compilation."—
Extracted from Mr. Hastings's letter to Mr. Smith, prefixed to Mr. Wilkins's translation of the Bhagvat-Geeta.

THE END.

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